

The three voyages of Vasco de Gama, and his viceroyalty

Gaspar Corrêa, Henry Edward John Stanley Stanley



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REPORT FOR 1869.

SINCE the last Report, two volumes have been issued to Members; namely, the Fifth Letter of Hernan Cortes, translated and edited by Don Pascual de Gayangos, and the first volume of Garcilasso de la Vega's Royal Commentaries, translated and edited by Mr. Clements Markham.

The Council cannot allow this occasion to pass without expressing their sense of the importance to the Society of having had the advantage of Señor Gayangos' services as an editor, and of the great value which attaches to a work issued under the auspices of that eminent Spanish scholar.

Mr. Stanley, to whom the Society is indebted for much indefatigable labour, has completed the volume on Vasco da Gama, which will be issued shortly; and he has also undertaken to edit a volume on Magellan. The translation of the Travels of Barbaro and Contarini to Persia in the fifteenth century has been completed, and Mr. Stanley has undertaken to edit it, as it was left without an editor owing to the lamented death of Lord Strangford.

The Conquest of the Canary Islands, by the Sieur de Betencourt, has been on the list of proposed works for several years, and the translation was actually commenced by Captain Goodenough, R.N., who was obliged to abandon the hope he had entertained of completing it, owing to his appointment to the *Minotaur*. The members will be gratified to learn that their former Secretary, Mr. Major, to whom the Society is indebted for several of its most valued works,

has undertaken to edit Betencourt's Canary Islands, and that his labours will probably be completed before the end of the present year.

The following six members retire from the Council:—

1. Rev. G. P. Badger.
2. Sir Henry Ellis *(deceased)*.
3. Captain Sherard Osborn.
4. Sir Henry Rawlinson.
5. Admiral Collinson.
6. General C. Fox.
7. Bishop of St. Davids.

Of whom

1. Sir Henry Rawlinson
2. General Fox
3. Admiral Collinson

Are proposed for re-election, and the following new members are placed on the Council:—

1. Lord Alfred Churchill.
2. Charles Grey, Esq.
3. Count de Lavradio.
4. Sir Wm. Stirling Maxwell, Bart.

WORKS ISSUED BY

The Hakluyt Society.

THE THREE VOYAGES

OF VASCO DA GAMA TO INDIA.

M.DCCC.LXIX



VASCO DA GAMA.

From a Portrait in the possession of

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT DE LAVRADIO.

THE

THREE VOYAGES

OF

VASCO DA GAMA,

AND

HIS VICEROYALTY.

FROM THE

Lendas da India

OF

GASPAR CORREA.

ACCOMPANIED BY ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PORTUGUESE,
WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY THE

HON. HENRY E. J. STANLEY.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXIX.

T. RICHARDS, PRINTER, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET.

DEDICATED,

AS A TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION,

TO THE MEMORY OF MY FRIEND,

PERCY SMYTHE, VISCOUNT STRANGFORD,

WHOSE LOSS IS DEEPLY REGRETTED

BY ALL WHO HAD AN OPPORTUNITY

OF APPRECIATING HIS SOUND LEARNING,

JUDICIOUS CRITICISM,

AND LOVE OF JUSTICE.

COUNCIL

OF

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

INTRODUCTION.

Louvarei antes o Camoens sublime,
E o bravo Gama, arando ignotos mares,
E as Nereidas nuas impellindo
As naos, que ameaça o escolho.

Francisco Manuel.

The account here given of Vasco da Gama's voyages is taken from Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da India*, and is entirely new; for Correa's work, which has only been printed within the last ten years, enters into much more detail than the other chroniclers, frequently differs from them, and has not been made use of by the great majority of the historians who wrote subsequently to him.

Gaspar Correa went to India, as he says in his prologue, when very young, and sixteen years after India was discovered,—that would be in 1514. The editors of the history, printed by the Academy of Lisbon, say, however, that he sailed with Jorge de Mello in March of 1512, on the ground of a receipt of which a facsimile is given. The receipt is signed by Gaspar Correa, but bears no date. It does not appear to bear out the assumption that Correa sailed with Jorge de Mello. It runs thus:

"tres adiçoes
Gaspar Correa que foy de Jorge de mello que foy mestre salla avera ho mes de Junho sem cevada ao respeito.........406 reis
Recebeo de nuno Rybeiro os quatrocentos e seys reis em cyma conteudos.
Bastião da costa. Gaspar Correa."

Correa arrived in India fifteen years before Castanheda, and must have begun to write his history during the government of Alfonso d'Albuquerque, since while he was his secretary he got hold of a diary written by Joam Figueira, a priest, who accompanied Gama; and this, he says, gave him the desire to write down all that he could learn of the deeds done in India. He wrote the history of fifty-three years of the Portuguese exploits in India, leaving off with the government of Jorge Cabral. He mentions having written part of his history in 1561. The year of his death, which, according to Barbosa Machado, occurred in Goa, is not known; but, as the editors of the printed copy say, it must have been before 1583, since Miguel da Gama, son of D. Francisco, the second count of Vidigueira, left India on February 21st, 1583, bringing with him Correa's manuscript. D. Miguel's ship, the *Reliquias*, encountered many storms, and at length arrived in the Tagus, where fire broke out on board the ship, which was with difficulty extinguished, and Correa's manuscript escaped from this danger also.

Nicholas Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Hispaniæ* (Rome, 1672), mentions our author in the following terms, "Gaspar Correa, Lusitanus, à civibus suis laudatur eo quod scripserit, Historia da India";

and the prologue of the Academy edition compares him to Polybius: so that it might be a matter of surprise that his work was not published till three centuries after it was written.

The printed edition explains the causes which operated to prevent this publication in later times: at an earlier period they must be attributed to the fact that Correa expressly intended his work to be a posthumous one, in order that he might speak the truth of all concerned; after his death, from the corruption which had set in among the Portuguese, truth was still more unpalatable; and it may also be supposed that many passages of Correa's history could not have passed through the censure of the Inquisition, since at that time they would have affixed upon D. Joam II. and upon D. Manuel the stigma of Judaism and necromancy.

Correa's work was hardly ever mentioned from that time till 1790, when the Lisbon Academy determined on obtaining a copy of it, for the purpose of printing it. Till lately they had not obtained more than a transcript of part of the first volume, made by two persons, apparently at the end of the last century or beginning of the present one. At length, in 1836, the second, third, and fourth volumes of Correa's manuscript, written in his own hand, were deposited in the library of the Archives by Senhor Dr. Antonio Nunes de Carvalho. The work, however, could not proceed for want of the first volume, which is lost without leaving any trace or hopes of recovery. Some years ago, however, Senhor Aureliano Basto,

father of Senhor Joam Basto, the Keeper of the Archives, was so fortunate as to hear of a copy of the first volume in the shop of a confectioner, where he bought it for twenty-eight thousand eight hundred reis. This copy is said to be of a date but a little more modern than the time of Correa.

A second copy exists in the Royal Library of the Ajuda, in two volumes, in a handwriting apparently of the eighteenth century, or end of the seventeenth. This copy is very imperfect. In many parts the copyist has been unable to read the original, besides which he took unpardonable liberties with the text, correcting and mutilating it, and making large omissions. This copy, however, served to assist MM. Basto and Gomes Goes, also of the Archives, in preparing a copy for the press, which has been edited by Senhor Rodrigo J. de Lima Felner.

The translation now given to the Hakluyt Society has been made from a transcript taken from another copy of the first volume, the property of the Duke of Gor, and which before it belonged to his family, had belonged to the Count of Torrepalma. I was not aware till last year that copies of Correa existed at Lisbon; and the editors of the Lisbon edition did not know of the copy in the possession of the Duke of Gor. Singularly enough, the Duke of Gor's copy and that rescued from the confectioner appear to have been written by the same scribe: the handwriting, size of the volume and page, columns and headings of the pages in red ink, are similar in the two copies. A whole leaf, however, of the

Lisbon copy had gone to wrap up sweetmeats, so that the beginning of chapter vi and end of chapter vii have been made to coalesce into chapter vi in the printed edition.

The various chroniclers who have related Gama's voyage to India vary very much in their dates, and agree only as to the date of his arrival at the river named Dos Reis, on Twelfth Day. They also differ in the number of ships that composed the squadron, some giving four and others three ships, and they vary as to where the three ships were reduced to two. Correa's account, however, differs still more from that of all the others, for he makes the departure from Melinde and arrival in India three months later than in any of the other narratives. He also very much shortens the return voyage to Melinde, which the other historians represent as one of the most arduous passages, in which the crews suffered great hardships. In this, Camoens seems to have followed Correa, canto x, stanza 144 :

> "Thus they set out, cutting through the sea serene,
> With the wind always gentle, meeting no storm,
> Until the desired land hove in sight again ;
> The ever-beloved country in which they were born."
>
> MITCHELL.

They also differ in the fact that Correa names Gama's ship *S. Rafael*, whilst Barros names it *S. Gabriel;* but outside the town of Vidigueira, of which Gama was made Count, there is a chapel of St. Raphael, in which an image of that saint is preserved to whom Gama's ship was dedicated. Correa is also the only

historian who relates that Gama visited Cananor on leaving Calicut.

The following are the reasons why, in my opinion, Correa's narrative should be preferred to the others. Firstly, he came to India earlier than any of the other writers, and was the only one who made use of the diary of the priest Joam Figueira. Castanheda who went to India in 1528, is the only historian who competes with him in this respect. Damian de Goes did not visit India. Osorio takes almost all his facts from Goes, and Barros wrote much later. Secondly, the reasons given by Correa why his work should be a posthumous one, and the religious respect for truth which he professes, ought to secure to him a large share of credibility. Thirdly, in many of the points in which Correa is at variance with the other chronicles, his narrative is more in accordance with human nature and probability. The salient points of the narratives of Castanheda, Barros and others, have been added at the foot of the text, and further reasons for preferring Correa's dates and version will be found in the footnotes. The Lisbon edition does not examine which of the various accounts are to be preferred. The prologue only observes that Correa's work contains some chronological errors, and disputes what he says of the invention of nautical instruments, and of the use of portable firearms. It adds, that "these venial faults ought not to diminish the lustre of Gaspar Correa, nor raise doubts as to his good faith, and the full truth with which he relates what he saw and

heard." The prologue also disputes Correa's giving the credit of the voyage of Bartholomew Dias to Joam Infante. Here, however, geography supports Correa, for the name of Rio do Infante, the term of the voyage in which Joam Infante and Bartholomew Dias doubled the Cape of Good Hope, shows that Correa had not exaggerated the position held by Joam Infante in that voyage.

I do not know to what anachronism as to espingardas or firelocks the prologue refers: Barros, however, and not Correa, is the person who is guilty of them in Gama's first voyage. Correa only mentions the use of cross-bows.

Amongst the rare occasions in which Gaspar Correa mentions himself, we find the following in the year 1547 (tom. iv, p. 596). At that time "D. João de Castro (the thirteenth governor) thought it right to preserve some recollection of the former governors, so he summoned me, Gaspar Correa, as I understood painting, and because I had seen in this country all the governors who had governed in these parts; and he enjoined me to work at drawing all the governors naturally [the size of life ?]. In which I occupied myself with a painter, a man of the country, who had a great natural turn, and he, by the directions which I gave him, painted their faces so like nature, that whoever had seen them, at once, on seeing the paintings, recognised them. The governor also had himself painted there after nature, armed as if he was figuring in a triumph.[1] All were painted on boards,

[1] This refers to the palm he holds in his hand, and the palm leaf crown on his head in the picture, tom. iv, p. 430.

each one separately, full size, and all armed with corslets, and some with the very weapons with which they armed themselves, and upon them garments of dark silk, with very rich gold embroidery, and handsome swords, and above their heads the escutcheons of their arms. At the foot of each was written in gilt letters their names, and the time during which they had governed. He ordered these to be placed in the hall of their house, covered with curtains. This was a thing which looked very well, and all the ambassadors and foreign merchants delighted much in seeing them ; so much so that some kings and lords sent to fetch them all together to see them. The governor put lay figures[1] in the hall, with halberds,[2] and with awful features to inspire dread in the Moors who saw them. As the first governor was the Viceroy D. Francisco d'Almeida, the head of the house of the Almeidas of Portugal, a man of great merit, as has been written in this history, and as the governor was much pleased with his noble deeds, he ordered an inscription to be written in this manner: 'Rejoice, O great and warlike Lusitania, over your good Portugal, since from thee issued Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the most illustrious man who conquered these parts : and warring in them subjected them to the lordship of Portugal, with so much glory to the royal sceptre.'" The autograph manuscript of Correa contains his pen and ink sketches of these governors, which have been reproduced in the Lisbon edition. They are

[1] Cabides. [2] Bysarmas.

better than the portraits in Pedro Barreto de Resende's work, which are probably copied from the portraits at Goa. There is a MS. of P. B. de Resende in the Sloane collection of the British Museum.

Vasco da Gama was born in the town of Sines, on the Atlantic, half way between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent. This town is situated in a bay, (and its name may perhaps be derived from the Latin *sinus*) which is formed by a point which juts out considerably on its northern side, and terminates in some rocky islets. The town faces west. It contains the outer walls of an old castle, and the first cottages at the northern entrance are said to occupy the site of a house which belonged to Gama's family. At about ten minutes' distance from the town on the northern side of the bay there is a natural wall of granite about sixty feet high, which runs out into the sea and forms a creek, in which small vessels can at all times lie in perfect safety. When I saw it, it was almost completely filled by from forty to fifty fishing vessels, made fast to one another stem and stern. The top of this ridge of rock is occupied by a narrow path or promenade, with a parapet on either side. A path leads up from the creek to a small church on the top of the cliff. This church was built by Vasco da Gama after his appointment as Viceroy of India, as an inscription on the right hand of the door states, though it does not mention the year. There is an escutcheon on the left side of the door (on entering it.) Externally this church is very simple; within it has only a groined ceiling to recommend it, and a gal-

estaca
sadenosas^{ra} das
salasmãdoufazerom^{to}
manificos^{ro} dõvascodag
amacõdedavidig^{ra} al
mirantevisoreidas
yndias.

lery or choro alto over the door facing the altar. Of late years a bad portrait of Gama has been suspended in this chapel. An undulating plain of sand, which is almost a desert waste, extends all round Sines, for a distance of more than three leagues, and beyond that the hills are not such as to justify an expression of Lord George Grenville's, of "Lusia's hardy mountaineer."[1]

Dr. Francisco Luis Lopez, who lives at Sines, has written a *Brief Notice of Sines*, Lisbon, 1850. From it I have extracted the following details of the genealogy of Vasco da Gama, which Dr. Lopez has collected from genealogical works and the records at Lisbon and Evora.

Senhor Antonio de Lima says in his *Nobiliario* that the Gamas proceed from a knight who accompanied the famous Giraldo the Fearless at the conquest of Evora in 1166, but he does not continue the series of his lineage. In some old memoirs it is said that that valiant man was of the family of Ulloa, in Spain, which uses the same arms. The first Gama who was distinguished in Portugal was Alvaro Annes da

[1] Portugal, p. 34 (London, 1812).

Gama, who lived in Olivença[1] in the year 1280, and was one of the famous captains who served D. Affonso III in the conquest of Algarve. He married and had children—(II) João Alves da Gama, Lopo da Gama, Bartholesa da Gama. João Alves da Gama lived in Olivença, and served in the wars of D. Diniz and D. Affonso IV. He married Guiomar Cogominho, sister of his brother-in-law, and had (III) Alvaro Annes da Gama, who served D. Affonso IV, and was with him in the celebrated battle of the Salado in 1340. He married Maria Esteves Barreto, and had —(IV) Estevão Alvares da Gama, Diogo da Gama, Commendador de S. Pedro de Trancoso. Estevão Alvares da Gama lived in Elvas in the time of D. Fernando and D. João I. He married Catharina Mendes, and had—(V) Vasco da Gama; who married, and had—(VI) Estevão da Gama, who was Alcaide Mór of Sines and of Silves in Algarve. He served D. Fernando, the brother of D. Affonso V. He married Isabel Sodré, daughter of João de Resende and his wife Maria Sodré, and had—Paulo da Gama, Ayres da Gama,[2] (VII) Vasco da Gama

[1] Olivença is in Spanish Estremadura. In 1300 it was ceded by D. Ferdinand to D. Diniz, King of Portugal, by a treaty for the exchange of certain castles. This treaty was executed in Castel Branco, April 19, era 1338, and is preserved in the Torre do Tombo, Gav. 18, Maço 9, No. 5. During the War of Independence Spain recovered Olivença, which was to have been restored to Portngal in 1815; and Murray's *Handbook of Portugal*, p. 51, says that it is a cause of complaint by the Portnguese that England did not do more to obtain the restitntion of Olivença for them.

[2] I am indebted to Senhor João Pedro da Costa Basto, the

(the navigator), Estevan da Gama, Theresa or Tareyja da Gama. Vasco da Gama is said to have been born in the year 1469. When young he served in the war against Castile. He married Catharina de Atayde, daughter of Alvaro de Ataide, Alcaide-mor of Alvor, and had—(VIII) Francisco, Estevan, Paulo, Christovam, Pedro da Silva, Alvaro d'Ataide. M. Ferdinand states that Vasco da Gama may have been born earlier than 1469, since a safe-conduct, dated 1478, has been discovered, which was given by Ferdinand and Isabella to Vasco da Gama, and Lemos to go to Tangiers, and it seems unlikely that a safe-conduct would have been given for children. M. F. Denis also thinks it very probable that Gama's eldest son was born before he sailed in 1497; and the ninety-third stanza of the fourth canto of the *Lusiad* lends itself to the supposition that Gama was already married. On the other hand it seems clear that Estevan, who appears to have been the second son, was born in 1504, after Gama's return from his second voyage, since Correa says, tom. iv, p. 122, that he was from thirty-five to thirty-seven years of age when he became governor of India on the death of D. Garcia de Noronha, April 4, 1540, and it is more probable that Gama married after his return from his first voyage, since during that voyage no allusion is ever made to wife or child, and it is only in his second voyage that we find him accompanied

head of the Torre do Tombo, for this portion of the genealogy, and for the fact of Ayres being older than Vasco da Gama, which are extracted from accredited genealogical books.

by Alvaro d'Ataide, his brother-in-law. D. Francisco, second Count of Vidigueira, married Guiomar de Vilhena, who died in 1585, they had five sons and one daughter; the eldest of these, D. Vasco, third Count of Vidigueira, was killed at the battle of Alkasr Kebir, in 1578. D. Francisco, fourth Count of Vidigueira, was born in 1565; he was twice Viceroy of India, and died going to Madrid, at Oropesa, in July 1632: he was buried at Vidigueira in 1640; he married twice, and of his second wife, Leonor da Sylva, he had two sons and eight daughters. The second son, D. Vasco da Gama, fifth Count of Vidigueira, and first Marquis of Niza, was born December 14, 1612; he was ambassador to France and to the Popes Urban VIII and Innocent X: he died October 28, 1676. He married the Marqueza D. Ignez de Noronha December 29, 1632, and had five children; the eldest, D. Francisco Luiz Balthesar, second Marquis of Niza, was born March 1, 1636, and died at Evora August 10, 1707: he married twice during the lifetime of his father; first with D. Helena da Sylveira e Noronha, February 12, 1654: she died after childbirth September 21, 1656; of her he had an only daughter, D. Maria Josefa de Noronha, born September 4, 1656. He married a second time, November 21, 1657, with D. Brites de Vilhena, and had eight sons and two daughters: the eldest of these, D. Vasco Luis Balthasar da Gama, third Marquis of Niza, was born at Lisbon August 12, 1662: he was at the taking of Valença de Alcantara, Albuquerque, and other places; he died October 4, 1735.

He married August 17, 1709, with D. Barbara de Lara, and had an only daughter, D. Maria Josefa Francisca Xavier Balthasar da Gama, born February 8, 1712, the fourth Marqueza de Niza, and heiress of this house. She married, June 12, 1729, with Nuno da Sylva Telles, second son of the Marquis de Alegrete, who, by his marriage, became fourth Marquis of Niza: they had six children, born between June 7, 1730, and January 18, 1738: and from these proceed the later Marquises of Niza.[1]

Estevan, Vasco da Gama's second son, was governor of India in 1540, and returned to Europe in 1542; he went to Venice because D. Joam III was offended at his not taking a wife of his choosing: he died at Venice, leaving a natural son.[2] Paulo, Gama's third son, was killed in a naval action off Malacca in 1534. Christovam, Gama's fourth son, began his expedition in Abyssinia July 6, 1541, and was killed there in 1542. Pedro da Silva da Gama, Gama's fifth son, commanded the ship *Rainha* in the fleet that sailed from Lisbon in 1537. (G. Correa, tom. iii, p. 816; and Couto, Dec. v, lib. ii, cap. 3.) Correa mentions him three times in the year 1547, once as son of Vasco da Gama, and once as brother of Estevan da Gama, the governor. A document in the Torre do Tombo, Chancellaria de D. João III, Livro 31, fol. 18, dated Almeirim, January 26, 1541, appoints D. Pedro da Sylva, gentleman of the King's household

[1] Antonio Caetano de Sousa, *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portugueza*, Lisbon, 1743, tom. x, 559-576.

[2] Antonio Caetano de Sousa. Ibid.

and son of the Count Admiral (Vasco da Gama), to be captain of the fort and town of Malacca for three years, with six hundred thousand reis yearly salary, as soon as the post should be vacant; and directs that D. Pedro should do homage for this fortress according to rule, before he departed from this kingdom (Portugal).

Alvaro d'Ataide, Gama's sixth son, is mentioned by Correa, tom. iv, p. 211, as captain of the ship *S. Pedro*, which came from Portugal in 1541; he was imprisoned for a short time by D. Martim Afonso de Sousa, the governor who succeeded to Estevan da Gama, and again released by him in 1542. Diogo do Couto mentions him, Dec. vi, lib. ix, cap. 19, as a son of Vasco da Gama, who was sent by the Viceroy, D. Afonso de Noronha, as captain-major of the Malacca seas, as he was to enter into the captaincy of Malacca after his brother D. Pedro da Silva da Gama, who was there: D. A. Noronha succeeded to D. Jorge Cabral in 1550.

Ayres da Gama, brother of Vasco da Gama's father, married Beatriz (or Mecia) Alvez Garcia, and had—Estevan, Sebastian, Isabel, Catharina. The eldest of these children, Estevan, commanded some ships under Vasco da Gama during his second voyage.

According to the author of *Evora Illustrada*, Padre Manuel Fialho, whose work exists in MS. in the library of Evora, and an Imprimatur for which was given on the 22nd of February, 1707, Vasco da Gama lived at Evora all the time that he was in Portugal after his return from his second voyage, and

his sons were born there. His house was in a street which runs out of the plaza before the west door of the cathedral. It is still shown, but has been entirely rebuilt and altered in appearance. The street is named Rua das Casas Pintadas, because, as Padre Fialho states, Gama had his house painted with the figures of Indians and Indian animals and plants, and there was some gilding on the walls, which was said to have been made from gold which Gama brought from India. Dr. Simões, the librarian of Evora, told me that he had seen old men who remembered the remains of these paintings. This house was afterwards bought by the Inquisition, whose office stands almost close by on the north side of the cathedral. The house of the Count of Vimioso, who was one of Vasco da Gama's witnesses when he did homage on his appointment as Viceroy of India,[1] still exists, opposite the west door of the cathedral. It no longer belongs to that family, and has been much modernised; but the dwelling of Garcia Resende, the chronicler of D. João II, is in its ancient condition, with a handsome window with mauresque arches.

It has not yet been explained,—and unless new documents should be brought to light, it will probably never be satisfactorily explained,—why Vasco da Gama remained in inaction from the time of his return from his second voyage in 1503 till 1524, when he went out to Goa as Viceroy. Some Portuguese are inclined to attribute this inaction of Gama

[1] See Appendix, third document.

to his marriage; but this does not accord with Gama's character, and Magellan's marriage little more than a year before he sailed did not detain him from his enterprise. The most probable hypothesis is that Dom Manuel, who is now known to have been of a most niggardly disposition, suspicious of his servants, and very jealous of directing personally all the details of government, thought he had recompensed Gama sufficiently, and feared giving too much importance to one of his subjects. What inclines me to this supposition of Gama having given umbrage to the King, is the fact that when he was again employed, Don Manuel was dead, and another king had ascended the throne: also because D. Jayme, Duke of Braganza, who knew the justice with which Gama complained of the scanty remuneration of his services, spoke to the King upon the matter, moved thereto only by Gama's great services, and on that account he facilitated the sale of his towns of Vidigueira and Villa de Frades to Dom Vasco, so that the King should give him the title of Count of the former town.[1]

Vasco da Gama was buried in the principal chapel of the Franciscan monastery of Cochim, which was probably dedicated to St. Antony, as Correa and Pedro Barreto de Resende so name it. This church was blown up in 1806 by the East India Company.[2] Gama's body was removed to Portugal in the year 1538, and deposited at Vidigueira. M. F. Denis

[1] Caetano de Sousa, tom. v, p. 570.
[2] See note, p. 428.

states that this tomb was violated by the populace in 1840. Gama is described as having been of middle stature, rather stout, and of a florid complexion.

In the Appendix will be found the text of several inedited Portuguese documents; it is remarkable how few relating to Gama now exist. No trace is to be found of a list of the crews of Gama's ships, which Correa says was drawn up, with the names of their families, and deposited in the Casa das Minas. The Marquis of Niza, the descendant and representative of Vasco da Gama, informed me that there had been a document in his family containing regulations for the government of India, with marginal notes by Vasco da Gama, but this had been stolen in the time of his grandfather. This document would probably be the one mentioned by Gaspar Correa at p. 425.

The first document, dated January 10, 1502, is a recapitulation by D. Manuel of Gama's services, and a donation to him and to his heirs of a revenue of three hundred thousand reis, to be furnished by a tythe of the fish of Sines, and out of the taxes of Sines and Santiago. It also authorises him and his heirs to send two hundred cruzados with every royal fleet to India, to be laid out in merchandise, which should be free of all duty except a twentieth for the Order of Christ. It then grants the title of Dom to Gama, and to his brother Ayres and sister Tareyja.

A translation of the fourth document is given as a note to Correa's account of the vice-royalty of Gama. It speaks well of his integrity and of his justice, but from the details given by Correa he appears to have

been too severe. An unmitigated panegyric of Vasco da Gama will be found in the fifth document, which is an inedited speech made by Diogo do Couto, on the occasion of Vasco da Gama's portrait being set up in the Chamber of Goa. The date of this speech is not given, but it appears from a petition of the town of Goa in December, 1609, with respect to the re-erection of a statue to Gama, that the portrait had been set up several years before. Diogo do Couto wrote an oration on the occasion of the re-erection of the statue, which it appears was not delivered. It was printed with some of his inedited works at Lisbon, in 1808. A statue of Gama had been erected on an arch near the quay of the fortress, and had been thrown down by some private individuals clandestinely at night, at which the King had been displeased, and had ordered the affair to be inquired into. He at the same time had ordered the body of D. Christopher da Gama to be sought for in Abyssinia, to be sent for canonisation. The erection of the second statue was decided upon by the Chamber of Goa on the 9th of December, 1609, and sanctioned on the 11th of December, 1609, by the Viceroy D. Ruy Lorenzo de Tavora, father-in-law of D. Francisco da Gama. Diogo do Couto says that as America was named after Vespucci, so India ought to have been named Agama, to preserve the name of its discoverer.

The sixth paper is a letter from Duarte Barbosa. It is principally a remonstrance against the misconduct of the Portuguese in India, and the violation of

all the engagements made with the King of Cananor.[1] It also mentions the arrival of an ambassador from Abyssinia who was to be sent to the King. The truth of his embassage was doubted because he was a Moor.

The seventh letter, from King Manuel to Albuquerque, is very interesting. It is a detailed instruction ordering him to survey the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and to get information about the country of Abyssinia, to burn and destroy all that he might find at Suez, to get information about Jiddah and the distance to Mekkah, and what garrison it had.

From this and the preceding letter, it appears that Joam Serrano, who in 1512 was in the Java seas, was in Portugal during the year 1513.

Three extracts from the third chapter of Genesis in Portuguese, have been added in the Appendix, one of them being taken from a Bible for the modern Portuguese in Ceylon, in order to show the change in the language of the descendants of the Portuguese in India.

Vasco da Gama has usually been ranked with Columbus and Magellan; but the position thus assigned to him not only does not belong to him, but such an estimate is an injustice to those two great navigators. In comparing the three men, the enterprises they carried out, the difficulties they met with, and the resources at their disposal, the greatest praise would seem to be due to Magellan. However, both

[1] See pp. 231, 232, 321.

Magellan and Columbus originated the prospects of their respective voyages, and induced foreign sovereigns to promote them, and to accept of their services; but Gama, as Correa and Camoens tell us, was selected by Don Manuel to carry out a design devised by Prince Henry, and which Don Manuel inherited when it was already matured by Don Joan II. Magellan and Columbus commanded crews who were not their own countrymen, proud men little disposed to follow the lead of a foreigner, and, in Magellan's case, especially disinclined to obey a Portuguese; Gama's crew was entirely composed of his own countrymen, and several of his personal dependents were mixed up with them. Gama's great quality was his indomitable constancy, which is set forth in still stronger colours in Correa's narrative than in other histories, and the most pleasing trait in his character is his affection for his brother, though it would have been impossible not to love Paulo da Gama; but these virtues are detracted from by his violent and passionate temper and by the atrocious cruelties, worse than any ever committed by Pizarro, of which he was guilty during his second voyage. He was able, however, when it suited him, to command his temper, and he appears to have possessed a large fund of dissimulation. No such stain attaches to the names of Columbus and Magellan: the latter lost his life through his chivalrous rashness in refusing the assistance of his Indian allies in an engagement with a superior force.

Moreover, according to popular belief, which still

shows itself in books where such ignorance would not be expected, Gama is supposed to have been the first navigator who doubled the Cape of Good Hope; but that task had already been accomplished by John Infante and Bartholomew Dias, and Gama took with with him pilots who had accompanied these navigators.

In relating an event which occurred in the year 1535, Correa gives a conversation of Vasco da Gama's which is worth preserving. There was a certain Diogo Botelho, a pilot, who was condemned to remain in India; and in 1535, when the fortress of Diu was commenced and the governor was going to send Simão Ferreira with news of it to the King, Diogo Botelho got the start of him and came from India to Portugal in a very small fusta with six slaves and five Portuguese.[1] Simão Ferreira left India on the 20th November, twelve days later than Botelho, in a caravel of 150 tons. Botelho was in great straits for water and provisions, but took in some at the island of Fayal, which he left with three hours' start of the caravel,[2] which had orders to capture him. Botelho reached Lisbon[3] twenty days before Simão Ferreira, and obtained his pardon from the King, partly for the good news, and partly

[1] Barros, Dec. iv, lib. vi, cap. 14. He gives the following measurements of the fusta: breadth, 22 spans; depth from keel to lower deck, six spans; length, twelve spans, probably a misprint for a hundred and twelve spans, which I am informed would not be a bad proportion of length and breadth.

[2] Barros gives him eight days' start.

[3] He reached Lisbon in May; Barros, Dec. iv, lib. vi, cap. 14.

through the intercession of the Empress, which he went to Castile to request. This Botelho was a natural son of Antonio Real, who was captain of Cochim in the time of Francisco d'Almeida, and of a Portuguese woman named Eyria Pereira, who brought him up very well: he learned piloting and cosmography from a Dominican friar in Cochim: he then went to Portugal, and was well treated by the King, who made him a gentleman, and talked with him of navigation, upon which Diogo Botelho asked the King to give him the captaincy of Chaul. The King was angry, seeing that he asked out of vanity what he did not deserve; and, half laughing, said: Pilots do not ask to be captains of fortresses. He replied: Sire, I studied and learned so as to deserve it; and if in that manner I have lost, will you do me the favour which I beg on my own account, and for the services which I have rendered. The King said: Do not be in a hurry, for it is not time yet. He did not reply to this, and going out into the antechamber, D. Antonio, the privy clerk, asked him if the King had despatched his business. He said: Sir, I will look out for a good despatch myself. This having been repeated to the King, he ordered him to be well shut up in the castle of Lisbon, so that he should not run away to Castile, and do as Magellan had done. There he remained a prisoner, and some of his friends disabused him of his vanity as a pilot, which had brought him to where he was. Thus he remained until D. Vasco da Gama sailed for India as Viceroy (in 1524), and being much entreated by

some gentlemen, he begged the King to give Botelho up to him. The King gave him to him to take with him to India, whence he was not to return to Portugal without the King's leave. The Viceroy took him out in his ship as he was also a pilot; and at times conversing in the ship, the Viceroy used to say that if the King had ordered Magellan's head to be cut off when he was ruffled because his palace stipend was not increased, he would not have done to him what he did. "But all men who are very good as pilots have mad fancies; and you, Diogo Botelho, have lost yourself through that; therefore do you make amends with good services, because the King will grant you favours, and I will do so also."

This shews the feelings which Gama entertained against Magellan, even after his death, and the little regard that he felt for the art and science of navigation.

Camoens was not blind to the shortcomings of Gama, and at the end of the fifth canto represents him as an uncultivated, unlettered man, where he says:

> "Let Gama thank the Muses that their zeal
> For Lusitania's honour bids them sound
> His name, accordant to the just appeal
> Of strennous deeds that claim to be renown'd.
> For neither they of Pindus' echoing hill
> Nor Tejo's nymphs in Vasco's race have found
> Such friends, that these should leave their grottos dim,
> And woofs of golden twine, to sing of him."
>
> QUILLINAN.

As the reader's judgment with respect to Vasco da Gama and the men of his time is liable to be led

astray by the glorious strains of Camoens, and by the recital of the great and valiant deeds performed by a handful of men from a small country, it is necessary to present another picture of him and his companions, drawn by a master-hand.

"But I had another reason, which made me less forward to enlarge his Majesty's dominions by my discoveries. To say the truth, I had conceived a few scruples with relation to the distributive justice of princes upon those occasions. For instance, a crew of pirates are driven by a storm they know not whither; at length a boy discovers land from the top-mast; they go on shore to rob and plunder; they see an harmless people, are entertained with kindness; they give the country a new name; they take formal possession of it for the King: they set up a rotten plank or a stone for a memorial; they murder two or three dozen of the natives, bring away a couple more by force for a sample, return home and get their pardon. Here commences a new dominion, acquired with a title by *Divine right*. Ships are sent with the first opportunity; the natives driven out or destroyed; their princes tortured to discover their gold; a free licence given to all acts of inhumanity and lust, the earth reeking with the blood of its inhabitants; and this execrable crew of butchers employed in so pious an expedition, is a *modern colony*, sent to convert and civilise an idolatrous and barbarous people."[1]

The most noble and worthy character in this story

[1] It is a tribute to the satire of Swift that this paragraph

is that of Paulo da Gama; he was a most loveable man, of a gentle disposition, yet capable of as much resolution, and as ready to incur any hazard as the boldest of his companions. All the traits handed down of him, and the speeches reported by Correa shew that he was of the same nature as Bayard. He was an exception to the other men of his age and nation, whose ferocity was stimulated by the desire of gain; on this account it was fitting that he should have been removed from the scenes of bloodshed and rapine in which his countrymen were shortly afterwards engaged, and no more appropriate resting-place could have been chosen for him than the island of Terceira, one of the few spots upon the earth which was then unstained with human blood. He was buried within the church of the Franciscan monastery in the town of Angra, under a slab of marble, as a Portuguese writer says, like his pure name. No inscription was put upon this tomb, and the form of the church having been altered when it was restored, the exact spot where Paulo da Gama rests is unknown.

> "How easy for the dead a home to find;
> And, as for ours, for all that wandering die,
> A nameless sand-hill, any bubbling wave,
> Will serve the low or lofty for a grave."
>
> CAMOENS, *Quillinan's Translation.*

has been omitted by his Spanish translator, who evidently thought it aimed at his own country, and did not see that the next paragraph excluding England was ironical; and he has altered Swift's expression, "Who may be an example to the whole world," from the conditional, to the positive.

Nicolas Coelho went again to India on the 25th of March, of 1500, as captain of one of the ships of the fleet of Pedralvares Cabral, and returned to Lisbon towards the end of the year 1501. From a document in the Torre do Tombo, Corp. Chronol., part ii, maço 7, doc. 83, he appears to have married Beatriz Rodriguez. The document written on parchment runs thus:

"Order of the King, D. Manuel, to his almoxarife of the paso de madeiras of Lisbon, in 1503, to pay to Nicolas Coelho, fidalgo of his house, twenty thousand reis, which he had granted him with a habit of Christ. Lisbon, March 31, 1503.

(Signed) "D. Pedro de Castro."

Below this is written.

"Beatriz Rodriguez, wife of Nicolas Coelho, owns to having received from Lopez Fernandez, the almoxarife, 20,000 rs., mentioned in this letter, which she received in virtue of a power-of-attorney given by her husband."

From a passage in Correa's narrative (p. 60), Nicolas Coelho appears to have been married some time before he sailed with Gama in his first voyage.

Next in rank after Camoens, among those who took part in, or celebrated the deeds of, the first Portuguese in Asia, comes Osorio, the bishop of Silves, and historian of the deeds of Don Manuel. He has been accused in modern times of having simply translated into Latin the history of Damian de Goes, and in short of being a plagiarist. This accusation cannot be sustained for a moment: in the

first place the bishop, in his preface or dedication to the cardinal Prince Henry, brother of D. Sebastian, openly avows his obligations to Damian de Goes, in the following words: "Ut autem id facilius exequi possem, Damianus Goes præstitit. Is enim magno labore, vigilantiâ, et industriâ ea ex quam plurimis epistolis et commentariis eruit, et monumentis suis memoriæ commendavit quæ ego minime potuissem sine summo otio perscrutari." In the next place Osorio's history is all his own, through the lofty sentiments by which it rises far above the chronicle of Goes: for instance where Osorio has the following fine passage in condemnation of the cruel persecution of the Jews and their forcible conversion: "However, that (the persecution) was done neither in accordance with law nor with religion. How, indeed, would you compel rebellious hearts, in nowise bound by having accepted a religion, to believe those things which they despise and reject with the greatest aversion? Do you take upon yourself to hinder the freedom of the will, and to impose bonds upon unfettered minds? But that cannot be done, neither does the most holy spirit of Christ approve of it. For He seeks a voluntary sacrifice, not one enforced by evil violence, and bids that the wills of men should be allured and invited to the desire of the true religion." Goes says: "It is certain that this work of making the Jews to turn Christians was worthy of much praise."

Osorio never fails to condemn whatever was blameable in the acts of his countrymen, and does not

suffer his judgment to be blinded by the passions of the age. Thus he is very severe upon the conduct of Gonsalvo Vaz Goes, who, in 1507, sunk an Arab ship after plundering it and sewing up the crew in the sails, notwithstanding that the Arabs had not attempted to defend themselves, and had shewn the safe-conduct given them by Lorenzo Brito the governor of the fortress of Cananor, and without which they would not have put to sea, for the Portuguese allowed no vessel to sail on the Indian seas without their passport. The viceroy Almeida was indignant at the conduct of Goes, deprived him of his post, and did not after that restore him to favour. Damian de Goes mentions this event, and blames slightly the cruelty of Gonzalo Vaz Goes, but with nothing to compare with the energy of Osorio.

Barros attempts to justify this practice of the Portuguese of intercepting all ships sailing without their passport, and says, (decade i, liv. vi, cap. i,) in explanation of the title assumed by D. Manuel after the return of Cabral in 1501, of Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India. "As to navigation, the power of our fleets was always so great in those eastern parts, that as we were masters of its seas, whoever wished to navigate, whether Gentile or Moor, in order to do so securely and peacefully, asked for a safe-conduct from our captains out there, which they commonly call Cartaz; and if this infidel is found, not proceeding from places where we have fortresses, or which are in our friendship, with just title we may capture

him as a fair prize of war. For although by common right the seas are common, and open to all navigators, and also by the same right we are obliged to give conservation to the property which each one may bring into our presence, because it suits him to go that way, not having any other public way, yet this law has force only in all Europe, among the Christian flock; which, as by faith and baptism, it is contained in the bosom of the Roman church, so in the government of its policy it is ruled by Roman law. Not that the Christian kings and princes are subject to this imperial law, especially this kingdom of ours of Portugal, and others which are drawn close to the Pope by obedience, and not on account of being his feudatories; but they accept these laws inasmuch as they are just and conformable to reason, which is the mother of law. But with respect to these Moors and Gentiles, who are outside the law of Christ Jesus, which is the true law, which every man is obliged to hold and keep, under pain of being condemned to eternal fire: since they are condemned in the principal part, which is the soul, that part of them which it animates cannot be privileged with the benefits of our laws, because they are not members of the evangelical congregation, although they are near to it as rational beings, and are, as long as they live, in the possibility and way of being able to enter into it. And even conforming ourselves with the common right itself, not speaking of these Moors and Gentiles, who have lost this faculty from not receiving our holy faith, yet any member of it (our faith) cannot

claim preservation in those eastern parts; because before our entrance into India, by which we took possession of it, there was no one there who had any property inherited or conquered; and where there is no preceding right of action, there is no present or future right of safeguard. Because as every act, to continue itself for a long time, requires a natural origin, so legal action to be just depends upon an origin of preceding justice, which in common right is a universal centre, with which all the acts of men must concur, who live according to the law of God."

This passage of Barros deserves the attention of the reader, and calls for some examination, since his line of argument has been extensively acted upon,[1] and perhaps still exercises a certain influence; and in the first place it may be observed that intolerant propositions like the above are to be found almost always more frequently in the pages of lay historians such as Barros, Diogo do Couto, Damian de Goes, and others, than in the writings of ecclesiastics such as Osorio and San Roman. This proposition of Barros is wrong in theology as well as in international law, for since in Christian theology, the grace of God, or the merits of Jesus Christ, avail and profit the souls of all men, including Pagans[2] who have never heard of

[1] Similar sentiments are to be found in Coke's *Reports*, Calvin's case, vol. iv, p. 29. They were condemned by Lord Mansfield.

[2] Proposition IV.—God gives to all unbelievers, even negative ones, according to time and place, sufficient grace for their salvation. Those are named *negative* unbelievers who have never heard speak of the faith; and those are named *positive* unbelievers who, having knowledge of the faith, have not chosen

revealed religion; these Pagans cannot on the grounds assigned by Barros be excluded from the temporal benefits of Christian law by those who enjoy the full benefits of Christianity. This erroneous proposition has been perpetuated by modern writers, who, however, substitute for the terms Christianity and Paganism, those of civilisation and barbarism. This is one of the propositions that calls for the condemnation of a diplomatic college at Rome.

Osorio blames the cruelty of Almeida in torturing and executing the prisoners taken at the second battle of Diu, who, he says, having become his slaves

to embrace it, or have renounced it. These cannot be in question. The discussion, therefore, only bears upon the former. Not only all the Jansenists, but there are also some Catholic theologians, who maintain that these unbelievers are deprived of all kind of sufficient grace, either near, immediate, or distant. It is against these that we have laid down the proposition, which we have just pronounced, and which we maintain as *certain.*

Alexander VIII has condemned the following proposition, which is the fifth:—"Pagans, Jews, heretics, and others of the same kind do not receive any assistance from Jesus Christ; it may thence be justly concluded that their will is alone and unarmed, without any sufficient grace." Clement XI has also proscribed the following propositions of Quesnel, to wit, 26: "Without the faith no grace is received;" 27: "The faith is the first grace, and is the source of all the others;" 29: "No grace is granted outside of the Church." Catholic doctrine teaches, therefore, that Pagans, Jews, etc., receive sufficient grace, that graces are received before the faith, and that those who have known it, like those who have never heard speak of it, receive them, since these propositions of Quesnel have been condemned in the sense of the author.—*Dogmatic Theology of R. P. Perrone*, vol. iii, p. 623. From the French Translation, Paris, 1860.

by the fortune of war, ought to have obtained his protection. Damian de Goes does not express himself with the same generosity as the bishop, though he blames the exceeding cruelty of Almeida, "who blew his prisoners from guns before Cananor, saluting the town with their fragments, so that it seems that God chose to chastise him by his death at the hands of the most barbarous people that were known." Osorio is also very judicious in his account of the death of Francisco d'Almeida, who was killed by the Caffres on the 1st of March, of 1510. The dispute arose through some Portuguese, who were watering the

It is often asserted that tolerant opinions, such as the preceding, are only due to the influence of the present age, and that opinions such as those of Barros and Coke, and those embodied in the Portuguese instructions to Pedralvares Cabral in 1500 (see p. 186) were general in the age in which they lived, whereby it is sought to excuse tenets and practices equally reproved by all religions. Neither of these assertions can be maintained, for the present century is no better than that of Barros, and the seizure of territory is now constantly proposed with even less show of pretext than in former times, for it is advocated merely on grounds of expediency:* and on the other hand, the opinions of Las Casas in 1542, that of Osorio in 1571 (quoted at p. xxviii), that of the confessor of Philip III in 1609 (De Morga, p. 418, Hakluyt Society), and that of Honoré Bonnor, prior of Salon in 1400, disprove the assertion that Barros and Coke are to be taken as correct exponents of the ideas of right and wrong prevailing in their time—ideas which cannot vary much for men of learning who really seek to distinguish right from wrong. The following is Bonnor's opinion from *L'Arbre des Batailles* (MSS. B. Museum, Reg. 20, C viii); this book was composed by order of Charles VI for the Dauphin.

"Firstly, if it be desired to prove how war ought not to be

* *Greater Britain*, vol. ii, 391, 392.

ships, attempting to carry off a Caffre, who resisted, and was rescued by his countrymen. The Portuguese related the matter to Almeida differently from the manner in which it happened, and Osorio blames Almeida for allowing himself to be persuaded to land and avenge this trifling offence, notwithstanding that some represented that no glory or advantage could be got from victory, and that it was not clear through whose fault the offence complained of had arisen. Almeida accordingly landed "as though the safety or dignity of the Portuguese had been involved in obtaining revenge." Almeida and sixty-five Portuguese were killed by naked and ill-armed men, and the royal standard narrowly escaped capture. Osorio says of this event: "It was believed that these men had suffered this chastisement by Divine judgment, because that they had borne themselves very insolently in prosperity, and without moderation in victory, but too frequently had used it with cruelty to-

made against infidels, the reason is this: all the good things of the earth have been made by God for human creatures, for bad persons as for the good. For God has never made the sun hotter or more beneficent for one than for another, and He makes it to shine upon good men and upon the evil. And also He causes good corn and good wine and other good fruits to grow in the lands of the infidels, as in those of the Christians, and sometimes even better, and He gives them science, and natural knowledge of virtue and of justice; and moreover He has given them kingdoms and duchies and counties, and emperors in their own faith and condition. If, then, God has given them these things, why should Christians take them from them? Since, according to the Holy Scriptures, we ought not and cannot compel nor force an unbeliever to take the holy faith or baptism, but we must leave them in their free will which God has given them; therefore, if we cannot make war upon them to impose the holy faith, how should we be able to make war upon them for the sake of the property which they possess. Certainly reason never shewed such a thing." (Pt. iv, c. 9.)

wards the vanquished." Damian de Goes has none of the bishop's reflections upon the folly of considering the honour of Portugal involved in a dispute with savages, who perhaps had not been the first offenders; but he takes the opportunity to say, men should be moderate, since as they conquer so they may be conquered, and led captive as they have led others captive.

On the 5th of July, 1596, Essex, after sacking Cadiz, went to Faro, whence he carried off the library which had belonged to Osorio. Two hundred and twenty-two volumes, supposed to be these of Osorio, were deposited by Devereux in the Bodleian Library, where they are still preserved. Speed says the books in the bishop's library were valued at a thousand marks. They are almost entirely theological works. Some Portuguese writers complain of this act of plunder, which they describe as piratical: the example followed had however been first set by Portuguese captains.

Before taking leave of Osorio, it may be as well to add that he supplies all the confirmation that was required for Varthema. In pp. 123, 266, 274, 280 of that volume, which is one of the best of the Hakluyt Society's publications, the editor has been at some trouble in the notes in reconciling Varthema's dates. Osorio confirms these, and also the figures given by Varthema of the numbers of the fleets of Calecut and Portugal. According to Osorio, Almeida sailed from Lisbon in 1505, passed the Cape in June, and anchored at Anchediva on the 13th of

September. In the same year he erected a fort at Coulam, and another at Cananor. A little further on (apparently during the year 1506,) he says: "At this time there came to Lorenzo d'Almeida a certain Italian, a native of Bologna, named Ludovic Vuartman, who had wandered over many countries from the desire of seeing the world, and at length, under the dress of a merchant,—since he feigned to be a Moor,—he had come to Calecut." Osorio then relates the negotiations of Varthema with the Milanese, their intended flight, and death. He also states that the fleet prepared by the people of Calecut consisted of eighty large ships and a hundred and twenty-four paraos. Lorenzo d'Almeida went against this fleet with eleven ships, carrying eight hundred Portuguese soldiers. The action took place before Cananor. Lorenzo attacked the enemy's flag-ship, and was several times baffled in casting the grappling-irons upon it. Osorio says only six Portuguese fell in battle. Lorenzo then betook himself to Cananor, and was received by the King with great demonstrations of rejoicing, and with no small admiration of his valour.

The siege of the fort of Cananor, related by Varthema, took place in 1507, and arose out of the treachery and cruelty committed by Gonsalvo Vaz Goes upon the Cananor ship, which was protected by the safe-conduct of Brito, the commandant of the fort, as has been above related.

Damian de Goes mentions the arrival of Luis Vuartman, and of D. Lorenzo sending him to re-

cover the two Milanese. He also says (cap. xxiv) that Vartema was knighted by the Viceroy d'Almeida, and came to this kingdom (Portugal) with Tristan da Cunha, and wrote this battle (of Panane) in his Itinerary.

Damian da Goes wrote in 1541 another work besides that which formed the groundwork of the history of the Bishop of Silves; this work, entitled *Hispania*, was written in Latin. The *Univers Pittoresque*, vol. Portugal, p. 219, has made a mistake in quoting from this work, and states on the authority of Goes that twenty-two thousand negroes were annually imported into Portugal; the number should be ten or twelve thousand, and the words of Goes are: "Singulis annis ex Nigritarum regnis deducuntur Ulisiponem decem, duodecimque millia mancipiorum, præter alia ex Mauritania, India Brasiliaque advecta, quæ singula passim decem, viginti, quadraginta, quinquagintaque aureis ducatis venduntur." (*Hispania*, p. 103, Coimbra, 1791.) The *Univers Pittoresque* also says that Rosmithal (about 1466) and Blathner, a Hungarian prince, caused a smile to be raised at their request for two Ethiopian slaves; the brother of Affonso V replied with disdain: "Those are trifles which do not require the asking." Finally, under D. Manuel and Joan III, the slaves overran Lisbon and all the principal towns of Portugal. These facts should not be lost sight of, since it has been customary most unjustly to charge the good Las Casas with being the author of the African slave trade; and Mr. Major, in his admirable *Life*

of Prince Henry, at p. 187, has rather too much attempted to palliate the conduct of the Portuguese in this respect.[1] It has been usual to charge the horrors of the middle passage upon the British cruisers, sent, under the directions of Lord Palmerston and Lord Aberdeen, to intercept slavers; but those horrors date from the beginning, as may be shown by a document dated October 24, 1512, in the Torre do Tombo, (No. 26, Maço 2 de Leis,) which contains a complaint of the people of Santiago, Cape Verde Islands, of the law which limited the importation of slaves to the port of Lisbon, because they get less for them, and "slaves are a merchandise of risk, for very many of them die." The petition gives the following example of a vessel which made the port of Setubal, and in consequence of this law had to go to Lisbon. In doing this it was blown out to sea and detained six days. During these delays "fourteen slaves died, to the great loss of their owners." This vessel carried a hundred slaves.

The name that Gama has left in history he owes almost entirely to the great genius of Camoens. It is owing to his being the protagonist of the *Lusiad* that he has come to be regarded as the most remarkable man of Portugal, in preference to Prince Henry, Fernando the Constant Prince, Magellan, the two Almeidas, Albuquerque, or Camoens himself. It is,

[1] Robinson Crusoe does not agree with his distinction between regrettable and execrable, for he says: "Perhaps a Portuguese is not a much better master than a Turk, if not, in some cases, a much worse."

therefore, impossible to speak of Vasco da Gama without referring to that great poet and making a few observations upon the *Lusiad*, avoiding as much as possible what has been said before.

The *Lusiad* has been called the epic of commerce. Gaspar Correa's narrative sets forth still more strongly that commerce was the sole object D. Manuel and Gama had before them; and it is not a pleasing picture which he unconsciously draws of the low chicanery and deceit to which the Portuguese captains were brought by the greed of commercial gains. The benefits which the States of India were to receive through commerce with Portugal are set forth in the most glowing terms, and in modern phraseology; yet within a very few years we find, on the testimony of the Portuguese, that the Kings of Melinde and Cananor, who had befriended them, and to whom they had sworn everlasting brotherhood and amity, were driven, by the misconduct of the Portuguese, to desire to abandon their kingdoms and withdraw into retirement. As early as 1505, Francisco d'Almeida obtained leave to erect a fort at Cananor; but the Portuguese were prepared to have done this without permission, for the fort was speedily erected, because, as Osorio relates, Gil Barbosa had already laid its foundations, keeping silence as to its being a fort, and giving out that it was intended for a spacious house. In 1525 D. Enrique de Meneses built a wall round Cochim, in spite of the King, and of the remonstrances of certain Portuguese who urged that the King of Portugal would be displeased at

such an infringement of his obligations to the King of Cochim.

This conduct of the Portuguese contrasts very ill with that of the Arabs, who had been carrying on commerce with Malabar for six hundred years, without ever attempting to subjugate the country or interfere with the inhabitants; not even when they had converted the King of Malabar, as Camoens relates it:

"But certain strangers coming to this ream
From Mecha in the Gulf of Arabie,
Who brought the Law of Mahomet with them,
(In which my parents educated me,)
It so befell, with their great skill, and stream
Of eloquence, these to that hot degree
This Perimal unto their Faith did win,
That he proposed to dye a saint therein.

"Ships he provides, and therein (curious)
For off'rings lades his richest merchandise;
To turn monastick, and religious,
There, where our legislative Prophet lies.
Having no Heir, left of the royal house;
Before he parted, he did cantonize
His realm. Those servants he lov'd best, he brings
From want, to wealth; from subjects, to be kings."

FANSHAW.

Camoens says of Albuquerque:

"More stanzas had the Siren in the praise
Of the illustrious Albuquerque sung;
But she remembers one harsh act, which weighs
Him down, though through the world his fame be rung.
A great commander (whom to crop bright bays
On precipitious cliffs his fate hath hung)
Should to his men a comrade rather be,
Than a judge made up of severitie." FANSHAW.

Camoens, however, in passing over in silence all

the cruelties committed by Albuquerque upon his prisoners at Ormuz and other places, and blaming him for an act of necessary discipline exercised against a Portuguese, shows the early development of that spirit which in India and China seeks to prevent justice being executed against European malefactors.[1] A French translator of Camoens, Vaquette d'Hermilly, says of this incident: "Few people will think with Camoens that this action stains the glory of Albuquerque. It is for those who have commanded armies to judge whether he was too severe." The following is the narrative of the Bishop Osorio, which differs considerably from that upon which Camoens founded his censure:

"Thus passed the winter, during which Albuquerque overcame not only his enemies, the rage of the sea, and the rigour of famine, but often also the pride and perversity of his own people; for it happened at this time that some Portuguese gentlemen were inflamed by desire for certain very beautiful Indian women, whom Albuquerque had placed under careful tutelage in order to send them to Portugal to Queen Mary, to be baptised, and afterwards given away in marriage. Rodrigo Diaz, the son of a secretary, who since a long time had relations with one of these Indian women, was the person who so advised and stimulated those gentlemen, that they all used to come by night to the flag-ship to seek these women, without any respect for the orders which Albuquerque had given with regard to them. He,

[1] See *Competition Wallah*, Letter IX, pp. 319, 320.

on hearing of so great a disorder, gave orders for Rodrigo to be hung. The gentlemen, however, who were accomplices in the same offence, went and presented themselves before Albuquerque, and begged him to spare the life of that poor procurer. When Albuquerque rejected their petition, they thought to gain more by audacious and insulting words, by which they only compelled their general to arrest and detain them as prisoners. But as he could not well do without them, being short of men, he let them go. They then became proud, and said that this pardon could by no means compensate the injury which had been done to gentlemen of such importance and family, and that they would not come out of prison on any condition, but would endure being taken in irons, bound hand and foot, to Portugal, to declare to the King what they had to say against Albuquerque. These fine speeches being repeated to Albuquerque, he was satisfied with letting these harebrained men have their fill of the condition which pleased them; and so he deprived them of their honours, and entrusted their charges and captaincies to other gentlemen."[1] (Lib. vii, § 7.)

[1] Castanheda, lib. iii, cap. 29, gives an account of this matter very similar to that of Osorio. He states that Ruy Diaz was hung, and some of the captains claimed that he should be beheaded, whilst others claimed that the governor should not sentence him without consulting them. The names of the captains who opposed Albuquerque, according to Castanheda, were Ayres da Silva, Francisco da Sousa Mancias (these two were the lovers assisted by Ruy Diaz), Manuel de Lacerda, Simão d'Andrade, Fernan Perez d'Andrade, and Jorge Fogaza. Correa relates this incident still more favourably to Albuquerque; for he states that

The critics of Camoens have for the most part blindly followed Voltaire in praising the episode of Ines de Castro[1] as the finest passage in the *Lusiad:* so much so, that some might infer that it was the only beauty to be found in it. As it has been said that Voltaire could only have read the Lusiad in a translation, it may be allowable to differ from him, and to point out the following, as passages of equal or superior merit to the one selected by him for pre-eminence: The departure of Gama's fleet, canto iv, 88-94; the description of a waterspout, canto v, 16-22; the gigantic vision of the Cape of Good Hope, canto v, 37-60; Venus with the sea-nymphs assists the Portuguese, canto vi, 18-23; the meeting with Monçaide, canto vii, 24-31; the allegory of the happy isle explained, canto ix, 89-95; the history of St. Thomas, canto x, 109-119.

The Portuguese have been much incensed by Voltaire's criticism of Camoens, and ridicule his ignorance in representing the poet as bringing the Portuguese fleet to the mouth of the Ganges. Here Voltaire may have used the Ganges as a figure for

Albuquerque ordered the fault of Ruy Dias to be inquired into, and the depositions to be taken by Pero d'Alpoim the auditor, and Lorenzo de Paiva, the secretary: according to Correa the other gallants who visited the governor's ship with Ruy Dias, but who were not discovered by the watchmen, were Jorge Fogaza, Simão d'Andrade, and Francisco de Sá. This happened in July 1510.

[1] The story of Ines de Castro is almost exactly similar to those of Kani Tambuhan in Malay poetry, and of Dilruban, the theme of M. Bolentineanu, one of the modern Wallachian poets.

India, as Camoens himself has done in describing the fleet sighting the coast of India, when he says:

> "Now rising Sol with gold those mountains tips
> Which Ganges murmuring washes: when a boy
> From the tall Am'rall's scuttle shews the shipps
> Land, to the prow; with that (late storm's annoy
> And halfe their voyage over) each heart skips
> Repriev'd from its vain feares. For now with joy
> The pilot (whom Melindians to them put)
> Cryes: if I err not, Land of Calicut."
>
> FANSHAW.

A much more grievous error was that made by Voltaire in his first editions, which he corrected in later ones, of representing Camoens as having sailed with Gama, whose voyage was a quarter of a century before the poet was born.

Voltaire says the greatest fault of the Lusiad is its being disjointed *(le peu de liaison qui règne dans toutes ses parties)*; but Camoens, in his disposition of the poem, has followed the plan of the Æneid, with which Voltaire has no fault to find. There the plot opens with the storm in the Syrtes, and Æneas, by his narrative to Dido, explains how they came there. In the *Lusiad*, we first meet with Gama in the Mozambique Channel, shortly after he arrives at Melinde, and relates to the King of that town his voyage from Lisbon round the Cape. So in *Paradise Lost* the plot opens with Satan in hell and his designs against Eden, but the preceding history of his expulsion from heaven is subsequently brought in as a narrative to Adam by the Angel.

The episode of the enchanted island, in which

Venus feasted the weary companions of Gama, has given rise to much criticism, which has not in general been fair to Camoens. His countrymen, who are very easily irritated by any detraction from the merits of their poet, are naturally indignant at the "modest author of the *Pucelle d'Orléans*" for pretending to be shocked at the scenes of the island of Venus; but a commentary still more derogatory to Camoens has been written by Senhor Jose Gomes Monteiro, Porto, 1849, who very unnecessarily finds fault with the observations of Humboldt[1] in his *Cosmos*, where he adopts the remark of Sismondi, that Camoens has not described tropical vegetation. Humboldt applies the same remark to Milton[2], and explains that the uncouth names of plants would have been out of place amidst harmonious sounds. Where Milton has described a tropical tree, the banian tree, he has made a mistake with respect to its leaves. Senhor Monteiro has attempted to lower the conception of the poet by reducing the imagery of the *Ilha Namorada* to the level of a matter-of-fact description of a vulgar debauch, which he, against all probability and historic grounds, imagines to have taken place at Melinde or Zanguibar.

All this criticism seems very needless in the face of the plain statement of Camoens in the 89th, 90th, 91st, and 92nd stanzas of the ninth canto, that the nymphs and delights of the isle of Venus are nothing else than the honours and fame conferred by great

[1] Vol. ii, p. 59, Colonel Sabine's Translation.
[2] P. 62, *ibid.*

deeds; and that the immortals who peopled Olympus were all men, whom antiquity had placed there as a reward for their virtues. In short, Camoens, in this, as in other parts of the *Lusiad*, has adhered to his classical models, and followed the idea of the ancients, that the great and good were promoted to the table of the gods, as may be seen from the following quotations:

> "Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
> Enisus arces attigit igneas,
> Quos inter Augustus recumbens
> Purpureo bibit ore nectar."

> "——— Illum ego lucidas
> Inire sedes, ducere nectaris
> Succos, et adscribi quietis
> Ordinibus patiar Deorum."

> "——— tu das epulis accumbere Divum;"

and the same idea is found in the Carmen LXIV of Catullus, on the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis.

An example of the exactness of Camoens is worthy of being here cited, since it shows how well acquainted he was with the peoples he describes, and the opinions held by them; and all his translators who have been less well-informed have missed the sense of the following passage, though it offers no difficulties of construction:

> "Tem a lei d'hum Propheta, que gerado
> Foi sem fazer na carne detrimento
> Da Mai: tal que por bafo está approvado
> Do Deus, que tem do mundo o regimento."
> —Canto vii, stanza 69.

Here the poet represents the Mussulman Mon-

zaide describing to the Catual the Portuguese, and their faith, in the very words which would be used by any Arab. If the translators had been more correct, perhaps an English archbishop would not have been so taken by surprise in the summer of 1867. This passage should be rendered: "They hold the faith of a Prophet, who was engendered without injury to the flesh of his Mother: so that he is accepted as the breath (*Ruh*) of the God who possesses the ruling of the universe."

Another instance of the exactness of Camoens is to be found in his description of Meliapor (canto x, 109), "Being then at a great distance from the shore:" in this he records the fact stated in the description of Malabar, of Barbosa and Magellan, that the city of Maylepur, at the time of St. Thomas, was twelve leagues distant from the sea, which later ate away the land and came in upon it (p. 175).

Baron von Humboldt, in a note to his *Cosmos* (92, p. 58), says of the edition of Camoens of Jose Maria de Sousa, Paris, 1818: "Would it not be a monument, well worthy of his fame, if a hall were constructed in Lisbon, after the noble examples of the halls of Schiller and Göthe in the grand ducal palace of Weimar, and if the twelve grand compositions of my deceased friend Gérard, which adorn the Souza edition, were executed in large dimensions, in fresco, on well-lit walls? The dream of the King D. Manuel . . . . . the Giant Adamastor hovering over the Cape of Good Hope . . . . . the murder of

Ignes de Castro, and the lovely Ilha de Venus, would all have the finest effect."

It is most devoutly to be hoped that this suggestion will not be followed. The typography of the Sousa edition is excellent, but the plates, with the exception of that representing Adamastor, and perhaps the dream of D. Manuel, are execrable. The Mussulman King of Melinde is represented as a Hindoo, and the Zamorim of Calicut is made to look like a Mussulman. The plate of the Ilha Namorada is more suitable to Voltaire's criticism than to the conception of the poem, which it lowers. All that can be said in favour of these plates is that they will do for that portion of the Paris public, for whom a French artist painted a Spanish alcalde and municipal council, and put them all in the dress worn by the Barber of Seville.

Mickle has said that Milton must have heard of Fanshaw's translation of Camoens, which was published fourteen years before *Paradise Lost*, and he says: "Every one would have owned that the two last books of the *Paradise Lost* were evidently formed upon it." It is certain that the dividing the vision of Adam into that of the material earth and the deeds of his posterity goes a long way to justify Mickle's supposition; but on the other hand, there is no similarity between the descriptions of the earth and the names and epithets of countries and cities, to show that Milton had availed himself of the geography of Camoens; and Milton mis-spells Ercoco, which in Camoens and in

Fanshaw's version is correctly spelt Arquico. Milton, in making Adam to ascend the hill in company with the Angel, clearly had in view the Gospel narrative of the temptation of Christ; and in describing the posterity of Adam, he may have followed the same tradition as that followed by the Morisco poet, Mohamed Rabadan, who represents Adam as giving to Seth a cloth, upon which the future destiny of his posterity was depicted.

Mickle, in a note on Camoens's satire of Don Sebastian's excessive love for the chase, says: "Had the nobility possessed the spirit of Camoens, had they, like him, endeavoured to check the Quixotry of a young generous prince, that prince might have reigned long and happy, and Portugal might have escaped the Spanish yoke which followed the defeat of Alcazar." It would seem more true to say that the rash exploit of Don Sebastian was due to Camoens, and that the King was fired and incited to it by the fitting conclusion of the *Lusiad*, a poem in which many acts more adventurous had been commemorated.

Canto x, 155, 156.

"An arm (to serve you) trayn'd in war have I,
A soul (to sing you) to the Muses bent:
Onely I want acceptance in yonr eye,
Who owe to Vertue fair encouragement.
If Heav'n afford me, this; and you, some high
And brave exployt; worthy a monnment
Of verse, as my prophetick thoughts presage,
By what I see now in your tender age.

"Making Mount Atlas tremble at your sight,
More than at that of dire Medusa's head;

Or putting in Ampelusian fields to flight
The Moors in Fez and black Morocco bred;
I'l gage my Muse (then in esteem and plight)
You in such manner through the World shall spred,
That Alexander shall in you respire,
Without envying the Meonian Lyre." FANSHAW.

I have given several passages from the *Lusiad* illustrate Correa's account of Gama's voyage, together with the best English translations, taken from the versions of Sir Richard Fanshaw, 1655; William Julius Mickle, 1776; Thomas M. Musgrave, 1826; Edward Quillinan, 1853; Sir T. Livingston Mitchell, 1854; and Captain R. Burton. It is much to be regretted that Quillinan, the best of the translators, died without completing more than the first five cantos of the *Lusiad*. Captain Burton's translation, which is nearly finished, will probably be the closest to the original.

The history of Vasco da Gama and his successors must always have a great interest for those who have succeeded to the dominion of the Portuguese over India, and the causes which led to their decline and fall ought to have still more importance. That the domination of the Portuguese was ephemeral was perhaps to be expected, since it was founded on wrong, as they themselves seem early to have recognised; for Camoens says:

"But o'er all Ind ambition and of gain
the greed, that raise up openly the face
against their God and Justice, these shall fain
disgust thy soul, but do thee no disgrace.
Who worketh injury reasonless and vain,

with force engendered by his power of place,
nought conquereth, the sole true conqueror he
who knows to render Justice fair and free."

Canto x, 58, CAPTAIN R. BURTON.

"Ah, whither wilt thou lead us now astray,
Bent as thou art the fated land to wrong?
To what new forms of pain and death betray
With sounding names enticing us along?
What golden mines, what gorgeous realms of day,
Are now the promise of thy facile tongue?
What wondrous victories, what pomps of glory,
Ovations, triumphs, palms, immortal story?

"Leave you a foe increasing at your gate,
To seek another over seas so wide,
For whom this ancient realm made desolate,
Drain'd of its strength, in ruin shall subside?
Court you a peril dark, an unknown fate,
That fame may flatter and exalt your pride,
Proclaiming you, with liberal pomp of words,
Of Ethiop, Ind, Arabia, Persia, lords?"

Canto iv, 97, 101, QUILLINAN.

Gaspar Correa, also, writing about the same time, says that the beginnings of the affairs of India were so golden, that they did not seem as though they had beneath the iron which afterwards they disclosed. . . . . . . Evils increased and good things diminished, so that almost the whole became a lively evil, and the historian of it would rather be called its imprecator than the writer of illustrious deeds.

The prologue of the editor of the printed edition of Correa says: "However, it is not to be doubted that Gaspar Correa, if freed from the dense atmosphere breathed by his contemporaries, and moulding his belief and ideas upon the belief and ideas of the

present time, would have proffered an anathema against all that, which, for the men of this age better than the past, who are enemies of ferocity and violence, is reprehensible and criminal. For our part, who write this, making abstraction of Homeric battles of forty against a thousand, according to the expression of an eminent lyric poet; of close sieges sustained with wonderful patience and endurance; of the glory which belongs to the navigations and discovery of lands, which in all parts of the globe still preserve Portuguese names; of the poems of Camoens and of Garrett, and the odes of Diniz, which this glory inspired, and which increase and immortalise it; for our part, we must confess it, in obedience to the inner warnings of conscience,—the conquest of India is repugnant to us, and strikes us with horror, on account of the injustice and barbarity of the conquerors, their frauds, extortions, and sanguinary hatreds. Perfidy presiding over almost all compacts and negotiations; whole cities ravaged and given up to the flames; amid the glare of conflagrations, and the horrid lightning of artillery, soldiers converted into executioners after victory, cutting the throats of old men, assassinating women, tearing children in pieces upon their mothers' breasts; conversions to Christianity serving as a transparent veil to covetousness: these are the fearful pictures from which we would desire to turn away our eyes. No less repugnant are the acts of ingratitude of D. Manuel and of his son, whom some writers have sought perforce to insert in the list of

good kings, shutting their eyes to multiplied and concordant facts, which contradict them. To repay with contempt and hunger the debts of blood due to the foremost men, after that they had risked their souls in unjust enterprises, could not but be a pleasing thought to corrupt and hypocritical courtiers, by whose counsel public affairs were conducted, who thought everything scanty for themselves, and who absorbed all, from the returns of the largest and most copious mercantile ventures, down to the infamous proceeds of meretricious traffic. But these are turpitudes which cannot be remembered now without shame and sorrow."

"Now these iniquities on the one hand, and on the other, the almost certain impunity of crimes, whenever the criminal shielded himself behind powerful patrons, or was able to assist himself with the magic power of gold, were the founts from which sprung perennial streams of abuses overflowing India, and hindering the Portuguese from observing good faith, justice or fair play, not at this time with the conquered, for these they no longer looked upon as fellow men, but with other Portuguese. Each one, bent on enriching himself as speedily as possible, by whatever means it might be, only took care to heap up treasure, and left for a later occasion the distribution of his wealth, in order to free himself from his crimes, and besides this to avenge himself of his opponents. It was, therefore, to this moral leprosy, to these internal cankers, that Gaspar Correa chiefly alluded, and to which Diogo do Couto attri-

buted the loss of India, saying, that it had been won with much truth, fidelity, valour, and perseverance, and that it was lost through the absence of those virtues, which were its safeguard until the time of the government of Jorge Cabral, (let this coincidence be noted[1]) or even up to the time of D. Constantino de Bragança."

Portuguese writers on the loss of their Indian empire, appear to attribute that loss principally to the cruelties and injustice committed by their governors; whilst none of them ever seem to think that Portugal was two small a country to maintain the drain upon its population caused by the occupation of India. The following is a summary of part of a MS. in the library of Lisbon, named "History of the Elevation and Decadence of the Portuguese Empire in Asia."

"D. Geronymo de Azevedo, whose cruelties in Ceylon rendered the name of man infamous, succeeded to Tavora as viceroy in 1612. The history of Portuguese Asia terminates with his government in matters of importance; the occurrences of his government were characteristic of the decadence of the empire. The most outrageous insolence and perfidy were then the traits of the Portuguese commanders. Pereira, captain of Mombasa, treacherously instigated the Caffres to kill the king, whose head he sent as a trophy to the viceroy Azevedo; the insolence of D. Luis da Gama brought on the hostilities of the Turks

[1] The coincidence referred to is between Diogo do Couto and Correa, who ended his history with Jorge Cabral's governorship.

and Persians against Ormuz; in Ceylon the soldiers robbed the natives at their pleasure, until the people, says Faria, sought refuge with the beasts of the mountains; a Portuguese captain, breaking the treaty of peace, took, close to Surat, a Mekkah ship belonging to the Mogul, and brought it in triumph to Goa. To procure its restitution, the Mogul detained all the Portuguese ships that were in his ports, and together with his tributary, the king of Decan, laid siege to Damão, Chaul, and Baçaim, and laid waste the surrounding country. Even the Chinese, who are unfitted for war, were exasperated. In 1606, a Dutch fleet blockaded the mouth of the Tagus, and prevented the annual succour leaving for India; the Dutch increased their forces in Asia, and the natives, from hatred of the Portuguese, favoured them. The Portuguese in Ceylon and other places fought with one another. Thiago Simões for services rendered to the king of Monomotapa, had received a concession of the mines of that country on behalf of the king of Portugal, and had built some forts on the river Zambeze; he asked the viceroy for reinforcements, which were sent with the letrado Fonseca Pinto; this succour revolted against Simões, and ruined his establishment; Fonseca, who had been sent as judge to Mozambique, enriched himself by infamous acts of tyranny and injustice, an example which was followed by his successors. The viceroy bought a peace of the Mogul, who, through the influence of the Jesuit Pereyro, prohibited the commerce of the English and Dutch, and the Portuguese ships detained in his

ports were restored. During the last thirty years, the power and trade of the Turks increased greatly on the coasts of Arabia, and a large portion of the produce of India was again sent to Europe by way of Egypt and Constantinople. The vassals of the Mogul refused to trade with the English and Turks, and shewed hostility to Sir Henry Middleton in the Red Sea. He, on that account, pillaged by force of arms, but did not act as a pirate; he took some ships of the Mogul near Aden, but gave them equal value in English goods for the merchandise which he took from them, according to the valuation of the merchandize in Asia, openly declaring that he only wished for a just commerce. Azevedo, the viceroy, prepared a fleet of eight ships and sixty frigates, but after a feeble attack, he withdrew; and though frequently challenged by the English, who were only reinforced by four ships, he shunned the combat, and allowed the enemy to retire with his ships laden. Miranda, the admiral of the Malacca seas, was no happier; he was totally routed by a Dutch squadron of eight sail, and the trade with China was interrupted. The spirited conduct of Middleton won over the Mogul, who cared little for the resentment of Azevedo, and he admitted the English to trade, and welcomed Middleton hospitably. Shortly after Abbas Shah took Ormuz from the Portuguese. The Kings of Siam and Ava then shewed their neglect of the Portuguese. During some of the last fifteen years, not one ship went from India to Portugal, and the expenses of the succours sent against the Dutch

and English exceeded the duties of the Company, which were enjoyed by Spain. Azevedo received an order from Madrid to dispose of all offices within his jurisdiction by public sale, and to apply the money to the maintenance of his government. Azevedo, on going from Goa to Diu, met four English ships, and shunned the encounter, from fear of the blow to the state of Portuguese India if he should lose the great galloon: such was the poverty of the Portuguese exchequer in Asia; but even supposing that it could not bear the loss of a single galloon, yet Azevedo was very rich. One day he complained of the great losses he had suffered in his merchant ships, about the latter period of his government; and one of his officers observed that he must still have got 400,000 or 500,000 ducats: to this he replied—"I have still got more than that value in flocks only." Though the Spanish ministry seemed to have abandoned India, they looked at the success of the English and Dutch with great resentment; as Azevedo had not routed them, he was summoned home, where he was despoiled of all his riches, and condemned to prison, in which he died: whilst in prison he was supported by the Jesuits, who afterwards buried him honourably, on account of their gratitude for the support he had given them. Azevedo used to throw his prisoners off the point of Malvana to the crocodiles, for his and his soldiers' amusement. Still greater decadence followed the governorship of Azevedo: the fortresses were stripped of their territory, shipwrecks increased the losses of the Portuguese. The

most notable events of the government of Joan Conde de Redondo, who succeeded Azevedo in 1617, were the solemn fasts held in Goa: during some of these the citizens spent days and nights on the floors of the churches, imploring the Divine assistance, in the most profound and reverential silence, at the same time that no sound was heard in the lugubrious streets. Though Azevedo was punished for not routing the English, the Spanish government made so little account of India that Fernan de Albuquerque, who governed it during three years after Redondo, never received a letter from the court of his sovereign. In 1622, D. Francisco da Gama sailed from Lisbon with four ships and the commission of Viceroy: on the way three ships abandoned him, and he had to burn his own ship on the coast of Mozambique to save it from a Dutch squadron; he continued his voyage to India in a galliot. After five years of government, during which he did not do any act of the least importance, he resigned the government to Luis de Brito, bishop of Cochym, who died two years later. On his decease, papers were found appointing two governors, one for the civil, the other for the military department. In 1632, the Count de Linhares being Viceroy, the European enemies plundered the Portuguese at sea without opposition, and ruined their commerce; nevertheless, Linhares, on his return to Europe, presented to the King a *transelim* or cord for his hat, and a pair of drops to the Queen, a gift worth 100,000 crowns. In 1639, when another Archbishop of Goa governed,

a squadron of nine Dutch vessels entered the river of Goa and burned three galleons without opposition, for the fort was without ammunition or men. In 1640 Portugal shook off the Spanish yoke, and in 1642 a viceroy was sent to India by D. Joan IV. At the end of the seventeenth century, the Court of Lisbon directed its attention to Brazil and neglected India: the succession of viceroys was kept up, but of all the establishments on the coast of Asia, Portugal only retained Goa, Diu, and the isle of Macao; and, according to information acquired by Abbé Raynal (who published his *Histoire Philosophique*, etc., about ten years ago),[1] at most two small ships every year brought some porcelain for Goa and Diu, but these had to touch at Surat and other ports to complete their return cargo of silks and spices. In 1773 the title of viceroy was changed for that of captain-major, and the Inquisition of Goa was abolished."

This manuscript contains also the following paragraph :—

"The Abbé Raynal, in his reflections on the fate of the Portuguese, says that when the Court of Lisbon projected the discovery of India and hoped for inexhaustible treasures, the most moderate and weak mind foresaw and prophesied the evils which would follow the event : and time, he says, the supreme arbiter of politicians, would hasten to fulfil those predictions. The objections to the voyage of Gama are clear and evident. They are these: nothing

[1] This fixes the date of this manuscript, which is without author's name or date; its number in the catalogue is 338 *Mello*.

else but sterile deserts like those of Lybia were to be found, or if in those countries riches were found, the extent of the voyage would render them useless, or, if they were available, the introduction of these riches would cause a degeneration of customs fatal to the kingdom. The colonial establishments would produce depopulation and contempt of agriculture, and if any colonies were necessary, Ethiopia offered nearer and better settlements. The anger of the Sultan of Egypt and the combination of all Europe against Portugal completed the prophecy of the evils which threatened it. But it was neither foreseen nor prophesied that the unheard of and bad comportment of the Portuguese might render the most important and lucrative commerce in the world a heavy, and at last, an insupportable burden upon the treasury of Lisbon or Madrid. It was not prophesied that the shameless villany, the pillage and robbery of their countrymen would be the cause of the destruction of their rule. Of the objections here enumerated, our author (Raynal) makes little mention. The increase of riches is not what does the harm, nor what causes the depopulation and neglect of agriculture, which he mentions as the consequences of the navigation to India. . . .The large population of Holland sprung up from its maritime commerce; and if the science of commerce had been as well known in Lisbon as in Amsterdam, Portugal would have been more populous and flourishing than Holland."

The author of this manuscript History of the Decadence of the Portuguese Indian Empire, and other

Portuguese writers in a greater degree, complain of the Spanish yoke as having contributed to the downfall of the Portuguese in Asia. This, however, must have had a small share compared with the internal disorganisation of the Portuguese in Asia. For in general the treasuries and accounts of the crowns of Spain and Portugal were kept distinct; the Spanish colony of the Philippines relieved the treasury of Goa of the chief part of the expenditure for the Portuguese settlements in the Moluccas; and if the Court of Madrid left a Viceroy of Goa for three years without a despatch, at least they did not hamper him with regulations. With respect to this part of the subject, some interest attaches to two Castilian opinions which are amongst the manuscripts in the library of Evora, $\frac{\text{CV}}{27}$, f. 70 and 72. One of these, dated Madrid, July 17, 1627, states that there is no discipline amongst the Portuguese, that each captain in action does what he pleases in leading his men, and that this is sometimes very successful in sudden attacks: it says that Goa is quite neglected and undefended, and the other forts are in the same state: it recommends the King to put in force the regulations of 1608 and 1609, and says that of all the fleet of the Count of Vidigueira in 1622, six hundred soldiers did not remain in the service, the rest having dispersed over the country.

The second opinion, dated Madrid, September 21, 1627, states that the pay of the soldiers in Portuguese India was 10 xerafins a quarter, or 40 a year, with a monthly allowance for provisions of 4 xerafins,

which make 48 a year, in all 88: this amounts to 7920 xerafins for a company of 90 men, the captain receiving 300, and the ensign and serjeant 150 each, in all 8520 xerafins; each xerafin worth seven and a half reals (or nearly a dollar each). It advises that the soldiers who embark at Lisbon should be bound to serve the number of years which His Majesty may ordain, and that they should not be allowed to leave their captains without a passport, or otherwise they would disband as they do at present.

Another cause of the loss of India by the Portuguese was that they extended themselves too much, and occupied too many points of the territory washed by the Indian Ocean, instead of contenting themselves with a few points giving them command of the trade of those regions, and to occupy which would not have exceeded the means and resources which a small nation like Portugal was able to dispose of. This danger was foreseen from the first by Francisco d'Almeida; Albuquerque, however, took the opposite view, and succeeded in giving full play to Portuguese ambition and greed of territory, and in extending their dominion.

The differences of opinion and policy which existed between Albuquerque and Almeida are thus stated by Osorio, lib. vii, § 14.

"Almeida judged that there would be little security if the Portuguese assailed the cities of India, from the danger of dividing their forces and so weakening them. Therefore his counsel was to hold the sea, for he considered that the master of the sea was master of

the whole of India. For that reason he would not quit his ships, and, provided that he had one harbour secured under his command, he took no care about the rest; saying that it would be impossible to send each year from the kingdom of Portugal so many soldiers as would be wanted for garrisons of forts and citadels: that whoever attempted to undertake that would be scattering the Portuguese here and there at the mercy of their enemies, whereas, while they were together and united, they were dreaded by all the Indians. Albuquerque, on the contrary, animated by the higher hopes, which great minds are usually accustomed to conceive, often revolved in his thoughts the means, not only of assuring the affairs of the Portuguese for a few years, but also of gaining a firm footing for their domination, which he assured himself would be very widely extended in the future; he judged that they ought not simply to consider how the ships might return each year laden with pepper to Portugal, but rather in what fashion they might lay the foundation of the empire of Manuel and his successors in India; and the more distant that were their succours, the more, he held, ought they to be careful to occupy and people various ports in India, so as to plant the Portuguese nation in so many places, that they might at need raise an army in India itself. Besides, he said, the sea was an insecure place of retreat for those who did not possess here and there some resource on land: a single tempest might swallow up the largest fleet which could be hoped

for; and the commodities of the land repaired the losses of the ships, and were not useless for reconquering the domination of the sea. Moreover, he held it to be a very dangerous thing to shut up the fleet of Portugal in a strait, especially where the country was poor, sterile, and unfitted to maintain an army during winter. He therefore considered that they provided very ill for the future time who affirmed that the affairs of the Portuguese could be sufficiently established in the kingdom of Cochim or Cananor, amidst so great a number of the sworn enemies of the Christian name, who were so bent on seeking out opportunities to ruin the Portuguese: that the town which relied only upon itself for its defence was not sufficiently secure, like one which could be succoured in time of need from several other places: that the dominion of the sea was not weakened by this occupation of strong places, but rather favoured and assisted by it, for the more harbours and refuges the fleet had access to, the more easy would be its navigation, and many places would supply more easily than one only the materials requisite for building or refitting ships. Finally, he was entirely of opinion that he who desired to remain master of the Indies, not for the life of a man only, but for ever, ought to build a fortress which should be peopled by all sorts of men; so that in times of necessity they should not always have to wait for succours from Portugal, which, during so long and perilous a navigation, for the most part perish from various maladies, or are lost in the waves of the sea, or detained by

the rigour of winter, or constrained to repose and desist from arms, so much are they weakened and rendered useless by the hardships of the sea. The issue of affairs has verified, long after the death of Albuquerque, how fitting and necessary his counsel was. For when Suleyman, the Emperor of the Turks, sent the governor of Egypt with a powerful fleet to India to dispossess the Portuguese, and he came and encamped before the citadel of Diu, and battered it furiously during many days, and made all his efforts to take it; although the besieged did him great damage, he would not have raised the siege so soon, had he not received news of the great fleet which was arriving at Goa to come and give battle to him at the port of Diu. And again, when the King of Cambay with a powerful succour of Turks was encamped for six months before that citadel, he would not have been so easily driven away and defeated by Joam de Castro, viceroy of Portugal in India, if Goa had not furnished arms, men, and supplies, which by that hastened the victory. For that city has become so great, that whole armies can be raised in it, and powerful fleets be fitted out there. Albuquerque, weighing with judgment that which has happened, placed so well the foundations of the state of Goa, that it is difficult to ruin that which he established. Since there were no Portuguese women to be the means of peopling the place, he used to have the Indian women taken in war baptised, and married them to his soldiers, to whom he assigned some possessions in the island which had been confiscated

from the Saracens, and he granted them other favours and presents to draw them into such marriages. Thus, as Romulus built Rome, and Theseus made the peasants of Attica come to Athens, or as some others have founded towns, it may also be said that Albuquerque was the founder of Goa, which he had conquered by his valour, and at the point of his sword."

A letter of Francisco d'Almeida to the King, written after the death of his son D. Lorenzo, and published in the *Lisbon Annals of Science and Literature*, in 1858, confirms Osorio's statement of his views, as will be seen by the following extracts.

"With respect to that fortress in Coulam, the greater the number of fortresses you hold, the weaker will be your power: let all our forces be on the sea; because if we should not be powerful at sea (which may the Lord forbid) everything will at once be against us; and if the King of Cochim should desire to be disloyal, he would be at once destroyed, because our past wars were waged with animals; now we have wars with the Venetians and the Turks of the Sultan.

"And as regards the King of Cochym, I have already written to your Highness that it would be well to have a strong castle in Cranganor on a passage of the river which goes to Calecut, because it would hinder the transport by that way of a single peck of pepper. With the force we have at sea we will discover what these new enemies may be, for I trust in the mercy of God that He will remember us, since all the rest is of little importance. Let it be

known for certain that as long as you may be powerful at sea, you will hold India as yours; and if you do not possess this power, little will avail you a fortress on shore; and as to expelling the Moors from the country, I have found the right way to do it, but it is a long story, and it will be done when the Lord pleases and will thus be served."

Diogo do Couto wrote a book called the *Soldado Pratico*, in which he shews the causes of the decadence of the Portuguese in India. This book was printed in 1790 by the Lisbon Academy. As the introduction by the Academy states, Diogo do Couto is not to be looked upon as a philosopher free from all passion and prejudice, nor as a censor of the justice of the conquest of India, nor as one who examines the good and evil which the Indian colonies might cause to Portugal: the time in which he lived,[1] says the editor, did not admit of such ideas: he only looked upon India as a means of enriching Portugal, and that principally by arms, and he directs his attention to whatever weakened the warlike resources of the Portuguese, or to the tendency of individuals to prefer private interest to that of the state.

This book is written in two parts, and consists of dialogues between a soldier and a viceroy: the first part is printed last, as it was found in Diogo do Couto's last manuscript, in which the part which was last written was put first: in this later part Diogo do Couto added a third speaker, a despachador, or official in Portugal who attended to the business

[1] Rather, the profession which he followed.

of Portuguese officers and soldiers. This part, observes the editor, is written with less simplicity than the earlier part, and is overloaded with historical parallels and a show of erudition which had become the taste of the time.

In the first chapter, the soldier complains of the way in which old soldiers, on their return from India, are kept out of their rights by the delays of the officials who ought to settle their accounts.[1] Next, complaint is made of the little secrecy observed in the councils in India, and of the enemy obtaining all the information he required: and that when the official inquiries were held over the officials of justice, of revenue, and the captains of forts, the reports of witnesses, which ought to be kept secret, were not so, and the inquiry became null, the guilty escaped all consequences, and the witnesses were exposed to enmity and revenge; so that it would be better to give up holding these inquiries from which there was no result. The speakers then agree that no one that returned from India with wealth ever kept it, that the money appeared to be excommunicated, and disappeared as if it were enchanted, and that it came by infernal methods and went away by the same, seeing that most of it was coined from the blood of innocent people. With respect to this the soldier tells an anecdote of a gentleman who was appointed to one of the best fortresses of India, and a monk said to him: "Sir, remember that you are going to enter upon the favour which the King

[1] Kirwee Prize-money, *Times*, August 29, 1868.

has granted you for your services, and that in that office you can win heaven as well as I in this habit, by this means, that you content yourself with what is yours, and allow the poor to live, and do justice." To this the captain replied: "Father, I must do what the other captains have done; if they went to hell, I must go there and keep them company, because I am not going to my fortress except to come back rich." The monk thought it was useless to say more to him; and though he said this by way of courtier-like speech, he did what he said: also the devil took it all away from him in a few days.

The second chapter discusses the delays to which the soldiers and small people were exposed in the despatch of their business, which the official attempts to excuse by saying that the delays are caused by persons higher in office, and that if the petitions were presented at unseasonable times, their objects would be retarded instead of being advanced.

The third chapter treats of the inroads made upon the Treasury by the King's officers; for instance, when an embassy is sent with a present of horses, the Viceroy sells them for the King's service out of his own stables at exorbitant prices, and a horse worth two hundred is set down at six hundred and more. When the horses arrive from Ormuz, the best are selected for the governor and his friends, and the prices fixed by him. The governors when appointed have to swear a great many things to the King, most of which they do not observe. One of the things they swear to observe is the privilege of

the city, and the first thing they do is to trample upon it, and they always find lawyers to tell them that such a privilege is to be understood in such a sense. And the governors misconstrue the phrase in their instructions: "Above all, do what seems best to you for my service;" since this rather should tie their hands, for what is the King's service unless to do justice, to give to each man his rights, and to fit out fleets when occasion serves, and provide for warlike affairs as may be most necessary, and take care of the repute of the state, and defence of vassals, because the King cannot guess beforehand future contingencies. The conduct of the governors is complained of, who appoint their own servants to various offices, instead of appointing deserving men of long service: also the governors do not pay the soldiers regularly, and pretend that there is no money in the Treasury. When the Viceroy or governor has finished his time, it is only proclaimed four or six days before his departure that he will pay any person who has claims upon him; and as he has then one foot in the stirrup, no one comes forward with a claim, and the clerks give him certificates which serve to close blind men's eyes.

The fourth chapter treats of the way in which property confiscated to the King's treasury, or sequestrated when revenue officials' accounts are wrong, all vanishes amongst different friends of the governor, without reaching the treasury.

The fifth chapter is about similar abuses.

The sixth chapter is on the injustice administered

by the law; on its severity with the Indians and its laxity with the Portuguese; on the expensiveness of procedure which, when a man gains his cause in a claim of two thousand cruzados, the law at the end leaves him only five hundred clear. And an auditor will write down *I heard* where a witness says *I saw*, and where he should say *yes* he says *no:* and the person that died, died, and the murderer walks about. What is worse is, that if you say to one of these, look at what you are doing, and ask him how he gave so unjust a sentence, he answers you very quietly: There are the judges who did it, for I did not hear any more of it. And this infernal fellow is not mindful that all the losses which he inflicted on the parties, and all the expense which he has put them to in appeals, he owes it them under pain of going to hell. It is enough that this is the worst sign I know of India not being in a good state, that the governors sell the offices of justice to those who sell justice so openly. The ex-governor replies that this cannot be otherwise, because there are not in India so many judges or learned jurists as can serve so many fortresses; and if such an office is to be given to Peter, who is not a learned man, why should it not be given to John: for these injustices which have been mentioned, the governor does not order them to be committed, and as for what is given to my servant, which may be two quilts, or as many carpets, or other trifles of gold or silver, this is nothing—he may take them; for I have theologians who advise me that this is to sell favour and not

offices: but the fault is in there not being men enough to fill these offices. The soldier answers: Of such favourites and of such theologians (if it is so, which I do not believe) hell is full! What is the meaning of selling favour? In what law, divine or human, is it to be found that if they pay for my ship, which they buy for the King, five thousand pardaos, that I am to give the favourite three thousand? This is to calumniate the theologians, and make them the authors of these robberies. Let the governors do what injustice they please, and not put forward the monks as the authors of them, which is another sin over and above. With regard to what you say of these offices being so distributed, because there are not sufficient fit men, I reply that for many years it has not been customary to seek for men for the offices, but for offices for the men; and if any one tried to seek them he would find them; but they are not found, because the Viceroy's favourites would be lost if they were found: for these have not to give bribes, but to beg, and do many favours, so that necessity may not be the cause of their committing abuses in their office. For this reason, the Carthaginians ordained that their magistrates should be rich men; for if they were poor, they could not do true justice, as they might be forced by want to commit some abuse. Let the governor seek for rich men, who are disinterested, and do them honour, and he will find men who will administer justice to the poor, for they are the people who require it, and whom the King ought most to

defend, because the poor and small are falcons and hawks with which kings hunt and catch heaven. This was a saying of Amadeus Duke of Savoy related by Raphael Volaterrano. Diogo do Couto then mentions many kings who took particular care of the poor, and goes on to complain of the governors giving away in marriage the orphan daughters of gentlemen, if they have any money, to their servants. He observes that those who crossed the river Lethe lost their memory, and that the governors who double the Cape of Good Hope, after that lose theirs with respect to the fear of God and fear of the King.

The seventh chapter speaks of the abuses which happen when the governor goes the rounds of the different forts and cities, and of persons (some of them so grave in habit and condition, that the soldier is silent with regard to them) who come to the governor to tell him that such a one has a pretty daughter, that such a one's husband is in prison. There was one governor or viceroy who asked a poor man to his face, who was requesting employment, to give him his daughter: the poor man replied—"My daughter has nothing of her own except the being honourable; may God please that I should never do such a thing." See what a buffet was this for a governor; enough to make him take a cowl, or at least arrange a good marriage for the daughter of such a father. The soldier next complains of the debts for supplies and stores not being paid to those who sold those things, who are obliged to sell their

debt to a favourite at a reduction, and the favourite obtains payment and a large profit.

The eighth chapter is about the inutility of sending overseers of the treasury to the northern ports, and that as they beg and even bribe to obtain those commissions, it must be in order to serve themselves: it also mentions custom-house abuses.

The ninth chapter treats of the fraud of antiquated payments to soldiers who are still on the lists after their death, and whose pay is still drawn: some sailors draw pay who have not been to sea for thirty or forty years, and many died long ago and draw pay as if they were alive.

The tenth is a long chapter on the irregularities of the accounts of Goa, and the abuses with respect to various institutions; fencing schools had been turned into schools of dancing, and there was not in all India a bombardier who could hit the hill of Cintra. The Viceroys had usurped the nomination of the prelates of the Franciscan and Dominican friars. The soldier observes, that it is a doctrine of theologians that if the Lord were to chastise all sins in this world, it would seem to remove our eyes from the sight of the Last Judgment; for it would be clear that if everything was paid for in this world, there would be nothing to pay in the other: all that he says, he submits to the correction of the Holy Church, as these are not matters in which soldiers have leave to speak.

The second and third scenes of the second part of this dialogue repeat much that has been said before about the neglect of the old soldiers, and that many

persons named to civil employments in preference to old soldiers, on the ground of being lettered men, really know no more Latin or law than the soldiers. These reflections of Diogo do Couto are strongly in support of the proposition lately made in British India to set apart a portion of the civil appointments for veteran soldiers.

Complaint is also made that now that the number of judges had been increased, impunity for crimes had increased also: whilst a number of people live by buying up claims and legal rights, and go from one judge to another, and pass their time in the tribunals as if they found there their greatest happiness.

In the third scene of the third part, Diogo do Couto refers to the opposition made by Francisco d'Almeida to scattering forts in various positions instead of relying upon the fleet: and says that more harm is done to the honour of Portugal when one of these is lost, than advantage gained from these forts, which only cause expenditure and supply no revenue.

The second set of dialogues, which were written first, treat of the duties of the Viceroy and various officers about him, and of abuses such as have been mentioned in the preceding dialogues.

It is unnecessary to point out how much of Diogo do Couto's observations upon the defects of the Portuguese administration in his time applies to our Indian administration. Those who have served in India or in other Asiatic territories of the British Crown will be able to make the application for them-

selves. It will not be invidious to say that legal delays and the administration of justice are as much a matter of complaint now as in Diogo do Couto's time. Under these circumstances it will be a matter of regret that the Duke of Buckingham, in his despatch refusing to grant the petition of certain inhabitants of Singapore for the restoration of the judicial independence they formerly enjoyed under the government of India,[1] should have assumed that colonial judges are inferior to English judges, or if they were so, should so quietly have acquiesced in such a state of things. The fact that Indian and colonial judges do not, in the words of this despatch, like the English judges, "perform their functions under the eye of a numerous and highly educated bar, with the assistance and under the correction of colleagues who are among the first lawyers of the world, and subject to the observation of a critical and well informed press," makes it imperative that none but trustworthy and first-rate men should be appointed to judicial functions in India and the colonies.[2]

Before concluding, I desire to make my acknowledgments to Senhor Joam Basto, the Keeper of the Archives at Lisbon, for the very obliging manner in which he furthered my researches, and assisted me in collating the copies of documents with the originals.

[1] Despatch of September 21, 1868, *Straits Times*, Singapore, November 14, 1868.

[2] See Captain Gulliver's opinion, voyage to the Houyhnhnms, cap. xii.

The Society is indebted to Count Lavradio for the portrait of Gama, copied from an ancient picture, the property of Count Lavradio.

In another engraving are represented the arms of the family of Vasco da Gama, with the "Quinas" of Portugal, which the King allowed him to quarter. The third plate contains a facsimile of the signature of Gama and of his two witnesses, taken from the third document in the Appendix.

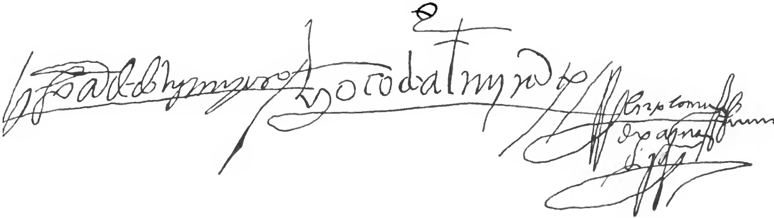
London, May, 1869.

CHRONOLOGY OF GAMA'S FIRST VOYAGE TO INDIA.

	Correa's Dates.	Page
Gama sails from Lisbon	March 25, 1497 .	37
After a voyage of nearly five months, arrives at St. Helena Bay . .	August 18 „ .	47-52
Stands out to sea for one month, then makes the land		50
Stands out to sea again for two months, then doubles the Cape	November „ . .	52
Enters a river east of the Cape .	November „ . .	53
Enters other rivers, and leaves the coast	end of Nov. „ .	55
Meets with a great storm . . .	Dec. 8 or 12 „ .	56
Mutiny of the crews	December „ .	59
Sights the coast of Natal . . .	Dec. 25 „ .	66
Enters the river of Mercy, or Dos Reis, or Do Cobre	Jan. 6, 1498 . .	67
Remains there a month, to careen the ships, scurvy breaks out, breaks up Coelho's ship, sets up landmark of S. Raphael . . .	January „ . .	73
The two ships leave the Rio dos Reis	February „ . .	74
They sail for several days, pass the banks of Sofala, and overhaul a sambuk, twenty later they reach Mozambique	end of March „ .	80
They remain off Mozambique 20 or 22 days, and leave Mozambique on Sunday	April 8 or 15 „ .	96

	Correa's Dates.	Page
They reach Mombasa	April 21, 1498 .	99
They leave Mombasa Thursday night	April 26 „ .	103
They reach Melinde Sunday . .	April 29 „ .	109
Stay at Melinde three months, and leave it	August 6 „ .	144
They sight the coast of India . .	August 26 „ .	145
Remain at Calecut about 70 days (Barros says 74)	. . . .	222
Leave Calecut and arrive off Cananor	Nov. „ . . .	225
Leave Cananor and go to Angediva	Nov. 20 „ . . .	235
Leave Angediva Island	Dec. 10 „ .	239, 253
Reach Melinde	Jan. 8, 1499 .	253
Leave Melinde	Jan. 20 „ .	259
Touch at Terceira Island, burial of Paulo da Gama	end of Aug. „ .	265
Reach Lisbon	Sept. 18 „ .	266


da.gama
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Imdia.



(THE FIRST VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA, FROM THE "LENDAS DA INDIA" OF GASPAR CORREA).

THE first Book of the Discovery of India by the first fleet which sailed from the kingdom in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven; and other four fleets of captains of expeditions, up to the year one thousand five hundred and five, when Don Francisco d'Almeida went to India, the first conqueror who governed India four years. Which I, Gaspar Correa, brought together and wrote, with the greatest veracity with which I have been able to know the deeds and events of the illustrions captains who went thither up to the year one thousand five hundred and nine.[1]

[1] This title-page of the manuscript of the Duke of Gor is not given in the printed edition of Gaspar Correa, Lisbon, 1858.

TO THE READER.

Nothing of this human life is so profitable to the living as the remembrance and memory of the good and evil that has gone by, in order to preserve ourselves from evil, by guiding our life, so as not to fall into those evils, according as the good men acted; and within the soul a very pure love and lively remembrance of those things which the High God was pleased to suffer for the salvation of the world; with perfect faith, which, if we act righteously, will give us eternal glory: and to those of us who are wanting in this remembrance, damnation without end.

For that which may piously be believed is, that those will obtain merit before God who write good things. I do not speak with respect to sacred writings which are for the purpose of our salvation; I only speak of the good and virtuous deeds of those who have preceded us, from the memory and remembrance of which, according as each one has an inclination thereto, the fruits of satisfaction may be gathered. Some persons have so much enjoyed these, that they have esteemed it great wealth to possess a large library, only for the pleasure which they derived from reading and knowing things that have passed by. I, the least worthy of all who have handed down the deeds of others, with my weak and rude understanding, direct my efforts to write and relate the affairs of India; as it appears to me that in some other time they will seem well to whoever hears them.

I chose to undertake this labour, born of leisure, and so unnecessary for me, since these things will be related and written in such perfection in the great chronicle of the most

excellent King Dom Manuel, who ordered the discovery of India, and of the illustrious prince Dom Joaô, our sovereign, and successor in his glory. On account of which, it remains for me only to be a writer as an eye-witness (and the chronicler of the kingdom is one by hearsay), and I took up this task with pleasure, because the commencements of the affairs of India were things so gilded, that it seemed that they had not beneath them the iron, which later they discovered to view.

Following out my resolution I went forward, in order that the work I had already executed should not be lost. Evils increased, the benefits diminished; thus, almost everything changed into lively ills, so that the narrator of them might, with reason, be called the imprecator, and not the eulogist of such illustrious deeds and events as occurred in the discovery and conquest of so many kingdoms and lordships: in the which, the deeds of the Portuguese appear more wonderful than those of any other nation, accomplished with such glorious honours, as Our Lord in his great mercy was pleased to grant the accomplishment of by our hands, as appears in these days.

And as sixteen years had passed since India had been discovered, when I came to it, a youth of few years, without any intention of undertaking this charge; but seeing the noble deeds which took place, and the doubtful struggles which occurred later, I decided upon making some brief remembrances with veracity of what had happened. I laboured with much care upon the events which I saw, and those which had gone before, inquiring of the older men who had been in this discovery, and removing doubts by means of the same men who had been present at the events: in the course of which, I found some men who had come in the very ships of the discovery. Also by means of some memoirs which I found in the possession of Moors and Gentiles, and especially in Cananor, who wrote with surprise at

seeing what they had never imagined. All which I thus collected together, and wrote with that truth (for which I pray our Lord to assist me in the labours of this life for the deserving of the true salvation), for with this design I will add nothing[1] to the truth of what I was able to ascertain most certainly. I do not fear the criticism and contradiction which many will offer on various affairs, shewing the desire to have it understood that they were present at them, and for that cause know them better, striving to reach at the honour which pertains to those affairs. And as I am without any feeling of covetousness, vanity, or envy, I have taken upon myself this labour only to satisfy my desire, and to content my will. And I will not write anything of the countries, people, or trade, because there were some who occupied themselves with those matters: upon which I saw some volumes, and especially a book which Duarte Barbosa made respecting them, and wrote of the factory of Cananor.[2] For which, if it please God, I will only labour at writing very completely of the noble deeds of our Portuguese who warred in these parts of India. And of the great and small, as will be necessary and reasonable, I will write with much exactness of the good and evil deeds of each one as they happened, without detracting from anyone their deserts, either for good or evil; protesting that I will not show this book to anyone in my days, because after this life is passed they say the same of the good as of the bad; and there are many who correct other men's work but no one corrects himself. The great and small having arrived at equality in death remain such as they were. To God alone I commend myself; may He please to assist me with respect to my desire

[1] The Lisbon edition adds here, "nor diminish."

[2] Da feitoria de Cananor. Damian de Goes also mentions as the work of Duarte Barbosa a book describing the nations lying between the Cape of Good Hope and the Lequeos, in which he treats of their customs, ceremonies, and sects. Cap. 42.

and purpose, which I entirely offer for His holy service and praise; and of His holy mercy may I attain to ending my days in His holy service, and to write and end this work in complete truth without any failing of my conscience; because if I were to write any evil falsehood of the dead, it would be a great charge against me, and an accusation before the Lord God.

CHAPTER I.

How the King Dom Joan sent Joan de Covilhan and Gonzallo de Pavia, his equerries, to go and learn about the countries of Prester John of India.

During the reign of Dom Joan, the second of that name in the kingdom of Portugal,[1] in the year one thousand four

[1] Os Lusiadas, Canto IV—

LX.

Porém depois que a escura noite eterna,
Affonso aposentou no Ceo sereno,
O Principe, que o Reyno então governa,
Foi Joanne segundo, & Rey trezeno:
Este por haver fama sempiterna,
Mais do que tentar pòde homem terreno,
Tentou, que foi buscar da roxa Aurora
Os terminos, que eu vou buscando agora.

LXI.

Manda seis companheiros, que passârão
Espanha, França, Italia celebrada,
E lâ no illustre porto se embarcârão,
Onde ja foi Parténope enterrada:
Napoles, onde os fados a mostrârão,
Fazendo a varias gentes sobjugada,
Para a illustrar no fim de tantos annos,
Co senhorio de inclytos Ispanos.

When endless night had seal'd his mortal eyes,
And brave Alfonso's spirit sought the skies,
The second of the name, the valiant John,
Our thirteenth monarch, now ascends the throne.
To seize immortal fame, his mighty mind,
What man had never dared before, design'd;
That glorious labour which I now pursue,
Through seas unsail'd to find the shores that view
The day-star rising from his watery bed,
The first grey beams of infant morning shed.

Mickle.

hundred and eighty-four, there came to Portugal the King of Benin, a Caffre[1] by nation, and he became Christian, with many of his people, as must be related in his chronicle. From this king, and from his people, the said King Dom Joan collected much information about India and its affairs, for he was very desirous to learn with much certainty that the king of it was Prester John, who was a Christian, and the lord of great riches. Which information produced so great an impression upon the king's heart, that he became possessed with an earnest resolve to send and learn about, and discover India. On which account, carrying out his desire, he at once, in the said year (1484) secretly sent two young men of his equerries[2] to learn of many lands, and wander in many parts, because they knew many languages. To these he gave many injunctions that each one should go wherever God gave him the inclination to go; and that they should labour earnestly to know about India, and in what direction it was, and that they should go there, and learn

He sent explorers forth, who past athwart
Spain, France, and ever famous Italy.
There they embark'd at the renownéd port
Where buried lay the false Parthenope;
Fair Naples which so long was Fortune's sport,
So oft some new assailant's slippery fee,
Until the lordly Spaniard fix'd her fate
And made her glorious in her last estate.

Quillinan.

[1] With the early Portuguese writers Caffre means simply a negro: they took the name from the Arabs on the Atlantic coast, and it was they who gave it to those we now call Caffres. Barros mentions an ambassador of the King of Benim, and not the king himself as coming to Portugal. The kings of Benim used then to receive their investiture from the Ogané [of Abyssinia], a sovereign who lived in great state twenty months' journey to the east of Benim.

[2] Camoens says he sent six scouts; Barros mentions two who were sent before these mentioned in the text, and who went as far as Jerusalem, but did not venture to accompany the Abyssinian monks who visited Jerusalem, because they did not know Arabic: these two men were Friar Antony of Lisbon and Peter of Montaroyo.

about Prester John, and of what he was, and bring him information of all; and if he existed they were to endeavour to see him and speak to him, visiting him on the king's part, and giving him an account of the great desire of the king to know him, and to converse and become friends with him, all for the good service of our Lord, being informed that he was a most Christian king; and giving him the best acconnt possible of everything so that it should appear well to him. Of all that they met with they were to obtain much information and take notes, so as to bring him news of all. The king promised them a large recompense for their labour, and for such great services as they would be rendering him; and for as long as they shonld continne in this service, he would take good care for the support of their wives and children. He directed them to separate and go by different roads; and gave to each of them letters of acknowledgement of the recompense which he promised them if they returned alive, or to their sons and wives if they should die in this service.

And he ordered a plate of brass like a medal to be given to each of them, with an inscription engraved in all languages, which said, "The King Dom Joan of Portngal, brother of the Christian kings": that they might show them to Prester John, and to whomsoever they thonght fit. One of these men was a Canarian by race, named Gonzallo[1] de Pavia, who spoke Castilian. The other was named Pero de Covilhan,

[1] Castanheda and De Barros call him Affonso. Castanheda says they were despatched on the 7th May, 1487, and the king gave them a map on which to mark their track, and four hundred cruzados, of which they took what they wanted and deposited the rest with the Florentine banker Bartolameu; they reached Barcelona on the day of Corpus, and went on to Naples, which they reached on St. John's day; thence they were forwarded by the sons of Cosmo de Medici. Barros says they were despatched by the king in Santarem on the 7th of May, 1487, and that they went to Naples, where they embarked for Rhodes, and there lodged with the Portuguese knights Fray Gonzalo and Fray Fernando. Thence they went to Alexandria, Cairo, and Toro (probably Mount Sinai), where they separated: Alfonso da Paiva went to Ethiopia,

being a native of the village of Covilhan. These men being thus instructed, the king gave to each one some precious stones to sell for their expenses, and despatched them. They both in company took the road to Venice; and in the pilgrim galleys, and strange dresses passed to Turkey, and went to Alexandria in the guise of merchants, in whose company they put themselves, serving them for wages, and with them they passed in the caravan to Mecca; always inquiring and obtaining information of what concerned them, and there they took counsel together and separated. And Gonzallo de Pavia undertook his journey to India, and went to Calicut, and ran along all the coast as far as Cambay in company with a Jewish merchant, with whom he formed such a friendship that he informed him of all his business;

and Pero de Covilhan to Aden, Cananor, Calicut, and Goa; there he embarked for Sofala, and returned thence to Aden and Cairo, where he had news that his companion da Paiva had lately died in that city. In Cairo he learned that two Spanish Jews were seeking him, one named Rabbi Abraham, a native of Beja, and the other Joseph, a shoemaker of Lamego; these had been sent by the King of Portugal. In accordance with the king's desire, Covilhan wrote to him, and sent him information by the Jew Joseph, and set out with Abraham to Aden, whence they went to Ormuz. There he left Abraham, who returned by way of Aleppo, and he went back to the Red Sea and to the court of the Prester John, who was named Alexander, which they call Escander, who received Covilhan with honour. Alexander died shortly after, and his brother Naut reigned in his stead; he made little account of Covilhan, and would not give him leave to depart from the kingdom. After many years, in 1515, or 1520 according to Correa and San Roman, David the son of this Naut then reigning, Rodrigo de Lima, ambassador of Dom Manuel having asked for Peter of Covilhan, the Abyssinian king still refused him leave to go, saying that his predecessors had given him lands upon which to live with his wife and children. And by means of this embassy of D. Rodrigo news was had of Covilhan, for he gave an account of his journey, and confessed to a priest Francisco Alvarez, who accompanied D. Rodrigo and wrote an account of the embassy.

Castanheda says that Covilhan wrote to D. Joam by the Jewish messenger Joseph that Calicut and Cananor were on the coast, and that it was possible to navigate thither by his coast and the sea of Guinea, first making for Sofala.

and with this Jew he turned back, going by Ormuz, where he died; for which the Jew felt great grief, and promised him that he would endeavour to go to Portugal to give an account to the king of the things which he wished to know, for which the king would give him a great reward. For certifying the truth he was to take to him the metal plate which he carried with him. This the Jew carried out; but before that, much time elapsed before he came to Portugal, the ships having already departed which went to discover India. Peter of Covilhan, from Mecca took the road to Egypt along the sea-shore, passing by many towns, and went as far as the country of the Prester, and went to where he was and spoke to him, and gave him an account of his journey, and of having come to seek for him; at which, the Prester was greatly pleased, and read the letters on the metal plate, which were in Chaldee, his own language, to which he gave much credit, because he and his ancestors had their own information by hearsay respecting the great kings there were in Christendom. This was related to him by some of his people whom, at times, he sent to visit Jerusalem and the Pope of Rome, on which account they always had a great desire to hear about them and to communicate with them: for this reason they paid great honours to Peter of Covilhan, and gave him lands and lordships as Count, with many vassals and rents. These Peter of Covilhan did not wish to accept, as he desired to return with his message to the king. But the Prester said that he should stay in his country not to die on the road, and not to lose so good a commencement as he had made; because he wished to send a servant of his to Rome, who should go from Rome to Portugal; and during this time his other companion would arrive, and if he did not come, then he could do as seemed fit to him. Meanwhile, he wished him to get sons and a lineage, who would remain to him as a remembrance until he saw that which he so greatly desired. Peter of Covilhan struggled

much against this, but the Prester did not choose otherwise; and so he remained until his time came, as I will relate farther on in its place.

CHAPTER II.

How the King sent Janifante with four caravels to discover the coast of Guiné.[1]

The King Dom Joan, in pursuance of his great desire, spoke with one Janifante, a foreign merchant, who frequently came

[1] The account given by Barros here also differs from that of Gaspar Correa. Barros assigns the chief command to Bartholomew Dias, a gentleman of the king's household: he says the fleet consisted of three vessels, two of fifty tons each, and a small vessel with supplementary provisions; and that they sailed at the end of August 1486. Peter d'Alanquer was pilot of Bartholomew Dias' ship; Joam Infante, another gentleman, was captain of the second ship, which was named the *San Panteleam*, and its pilot was Alvaro Martins; the provision ship was commanded by Peter Dias, brother of Bartholomew, and its pilot was Joam de Sant Iago. Although Diogo Cam had discovered three hundred and sixty-five leagues of coast beginning from Cape St. Catherine up to the cape named do Padraõ, after passing the river of Congo, Bartholomew Dias followed the coast until reaching Angra do Salto, so named from two negroes whom Diogo Cam carried off from there, whom Dias brought back to that place. Dias set up a landmark named Sant Iago in Serra parda, another to St. Philip at the great and notable Cape of Good Hope, and another of Holy Cross in the island of that name. After leaving Angra das voltas in twenty-nine degrees south latitude, Dias ran for thirteen days with the sails hoisted half way up the mast, when, the wind lessening, they sought the land, which they found ran eastwards, and which hitherto had been in general north and south. Seeing that for some days they did not meet the land, they took a northerly course and came to a bay, which they named dos Vaqueiros, on account of the many cows which they saw on shore tended by their herdsmen. Running along the coast, they came to an island in thirty-three degrees and three-quarters, half a league from the mainland, which they named Santa Cruz, and because there were two springs in it they named it Penedo das Fontes. Here the crews complained greatly and wished to turn back, but the Captain Dias persuaded them to go on two

to Lisbon, and knew much of the art of navigation, and he made an agreement with him, to give him ships and men, and all that was necessary, without his spending any more than his own labour; and that he should go and run down the coast of Benim, and run along it as far as he could, until he had expended his provisions: and that in all the new countries which he should discover and settle, he would give him such recompenses in them, that he would esteem himself fortunate. The said Janifante accepted this, giving a promise to the king that he would not value his life to serve him. The king at once fitted out four caravels, which Janifante selected at his pleasure in the river of Lisbon, and the whole of the cargo of the caravels consisted of provisions; and for merchandize, copper bracelets and brass basons, rattles and little bells, looking glasses, knives, coloured

or three days more, and then return if they found nothing to induce them to continue: to this they agreed. At the end of these days they only came to a river, which is twenty-five leagues further on than Santa Cruz Island, in thirty-two degrees and two-thirds: and as Captain Joam Infante was the first to land, the river was named do Infante. Here the crews renewed their complaints, and Dias returned with great regret, and left the landmark in Sta. Cruz with as much grief as if he had left there a son banished for ever. Leaving that place they saw the great and notable cape, concealed for so many hundred years, which Dias named Cape of Storms, but the King Dom Joam when he arrived gave it the more illustrious name of Cape of Good Hope. Dias then placed there the landmark of St. Philip, and then made for the provision ship, which they had left nine months before; of nine men who had remained with it, three only were alive, and one of these, Fernando Colazo, a native of Lumiar of the district of Lisbon, who was a clerk, died of joy, being very weak with illness. Dias returned in December of 1487, having left Lisbon sixteen months and seventeen days before. He discovered three hundred and fifty leagues of coast, which was as much as Diogo Cam had discovered in two voyages. Decade i, lib. iii, cap. iv. B. Dias in 1500 commanded a ship in the fleet which sailed to India after the return of Vasco da Gama. His ship and three others foundered in a tempest between Brazil and the Cape of Good Hope on the 23rd of May. On the 12th of May a comet appeared towards the Cape of Good Hope, and was seen for eight days, and was supposed to have prognosticated the sad fate of the four ships.

cloths, and coloured silks. All being disposed in good order, he set out, taking in the caravels only seafaring men. Thus he always ran along the coast of Guiné, because he always navigated in sight of land, taking soundings, and writing down all that he saw for the knowledge of the countries. He proceeded so far as that the coast began to turn seaward, and met with contrary winds, and struggled on, tacking frequently, now towards the land and now towards the sea, with such great storms and high seas, that they threatened to swallow up his ships. When he saw that the winds were general, without ever changing, and as four months had passed that they were beating about to landward and seaward, and that going out to sea he found the waves so great that he could not navigate amongst them with the caravels, and the people clamoured to him greatly not to give them such superfluous labour, with such risk to their lives, and so little profit, as they had been so long going on in this way, and it was now well-known that there was no other weather. Janifante seeing that they were speaking the truth, and that there were no more provisions, put back and betook himself to the king, and gave him an account of his voyage. He reported that if he were to take tall ships with which he could stand out more to sea, that he could go much farther on, because when he again saw land, he found countries which he had not before seen; but that, with large ships which could resist the waves, he could, by beating up, run along the coast until he discovered tho cape: without any doubt, he had certain hope that beyond it he should discover great countries. The king listened to all he said, and replied, that he rejoiced greatly at what he related to him, and that he should rest until he had ordered large and strong ships to be built, with which he might sail against the storms and seas, to discover for him the cape of that land of which he gave him such good hope, and so also he trusted in God. "I order you to construct the ships

according to your will, and you shall return to discover this Cape of such Good Hope as you give me." He granted favours to Janifante, and payment to the sailors who went with him; and npon these he placed a strong prohibition not to go ont of the kingdom, becanse they were to go with Janifante in another fleet which he would again send to discover the Cape of Good Hope, which they had not been able to discover with the caravels: and he ordered them to labonr in his ship-building yard, where he gave them provisions for their maintenance, becanse they were not to sail out of the kingdom. On this account the king at once commanded timber to be cut down in the woods and barren lands, which the carpenters and shipwrights ordered for cutting, which was brought to Lisbon, where three large ships were at once begun of the size which Janifante ordered; because the king commanded that they should be bnilt as he ordered, and he ordered that they shonld be built of very strong timber. While he was occupied in this business he fell ill and died; at which the king felt much grief, and gave orders for desisting from the work until he should find a man to his pleasure whom he might charge with the discovery which he so greatly desired to make.

CHAPTER III.

How, by the death of the King Dom Joam, the King Dom Manoel, who succeeded to the kingdom, occupied himself with the discovery of India.

At this time also an illness overtook the king, which gave him care and occupation, so that he could no longer look after the building of the three ships, nntil the year 1495, when he died of his illness in Alvor[1]; and there succeeded him as

[1] On the 25th of October, Castanheda. D. Manuel received the sceptre

king the King Dom Manoel. He provided for the affairs of the kingdom as he thought fitting; and after all had been set in order, being inspired by Our Lord, he took the resolution to learn and inform himself about the affairs of India,[1] for he knew that the king had had so great a desire in this matter that he had sent his two equerries, from whom there had not been any answer. He (Dom Joam) only had information by means of letters which he wrote respecting this to Venice, to a principal merchant, a great friend of his, who negociated and executed his commissions. From him he had received answers, in which he gave him a long account of India, and of its great riches and trade which issued from it by many seas and lands, by which way there came rich merchandise and aromatic spices to Alexandria, from which the Turk drew great profits; and from that place the merchandise came by the trading of the merchants who brought it to Venice. This was the greatest trade which there was in

at Alcacer do Sal on the 27th October, Barros; Osorio also says that D. Manuel, who was then twenty-six years old, was residing at Alcacer, *Salatia*, which the Paris version of 1581 translates Lisbon.

[1] Os Lusiadas, IV, lxvi—

Parece, que guardava o claro Ceo
A Manoel, & seus merecimientos
Esta empresa tam ardua, que o moveo
A subidos, & illustres movimentos:
Manoel, que a Joanne succedeo
No Reyno, & nos altivos pensamentos:
Logo como tomou do Reyno o cargo,
Tomou mais a conquista do mar largo.

Seems, gracious Heav'n, reserved for thee alone,
Emanuel, and for thy great desart
So hard a worke: for thee with thoughts high-flown
Inspir'd, and cut out fit to act this part.
Manuel (succeeding John, both in the throne,
And in the haughty purpose of his heart)
When first he took on him the kingdom's charge,
The conquest undertook oth' ocean large.

Fanshaw.

Venice, because it went thence to all parts, so that sometimes the galleys of Venice came to Spain and went to sell at Lisbon, as he had seen, but in what part India lay he was unable to tell him. This, however, was an affair for a great prince to undertake and endeavour to discover and conquor it, and adventure in this his whole kingdom and power; for if it pleased Our Lord to shew it to him and make him lord of it, he would be exalted in riches and grandeur over all tho Christian princes, and he would be of glorious memory for the exaltation of our holy faith. By these letters the (*late*) king was incited to his great desire; and the reading of them by tho King Dom Manoel, who found them in a chest of the king's papers, caused him to feel a great longing to order the making of the discovery of India;[1] and having directed his intellect to this care, as a very prudent man, and ono of good counsel, he chose first to obtain information of the facts, and of what he could do, before commencing so great an enterprise. Not being willing to risk in vain his expenditure and the lives of his vassals, he determined first to possess trne information, and would not commenco an affair which he was not to bring to a conclusion; especially so great a one as this, and at the beginning of his reign. Becauso it was fitting in this matter, and also because he was some little inclined to astronomical matters, he sent to Beja to summon a Jew with whom he was very well acquainted, who was a great astrologer, named Çacoto;[2] with

[1] Castanheda says D. Manuel profited much by the instructions and regulations for this navigation left by D. Joam.

[2] This man was the "celebrated mathematician, Abraham Zakut," mentioned by Rodriguez de Castro in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica Española*, vol. i, p. 544, whose descendants abjured Judaism; some of these relapsed, one of whom was Zacuth, who was born in Lisbon in 1575, and wrote—*De Praxi Medica admiranda*, Amsterdam, 1634; *De medicorum principum historia*, Amsterdam, 1629; and *Introitus ad Praxin et Pharmacopœam*, Amsterdam, 1641. All these works of Zacuth are in two volumes of the edition of Lyons 1657, in the library at Oxford.

[The

whom he spoke in great secret, and charged him to ascertain whether he should advise him to engage himself in the dis-

The language of Gaspar Correa in relating this interview of the king with the Jew shows the confusion still existing between astronomy and astrology. Alfonso X of Spain constantly consulted Mussulman and Jewish learned men. Other writers subsequent to Correa, such as Barros, San Roman, Castanheda, etc., do not mention this consultation held by Dom Manuel at all, probably because in their time such a proceeding would have been described as Judaism and necromancy. Rodriguez de Castro mentions that the head of the Zacut family was ennobled, which seems to confirm Correa's anecdote. Camoens represents Dom Manuel as seeing two persons in a dream, the Ganges and the Indus, who make to him predictions similar to those of the Israelite astrologer and mathematician.[1] The Zacut who was consulted by D.

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[1] Canto IV, 71—

Das aguas se lhe antolha que sahiam,
Para elle os largos passos inclinando,
Dous homens que mui velhos pareciam,
De aspecto, inda que agreste, venerando.
Das pontas dos cabellos lhe cahiam
Gottas, que o corpo todo vão banhando;
A cor da pelle, baça a denegrida;
A barba hirsuta, intonsa, mas comprida.

72.

D'ambos de dous a fronte coroada
Ramos não conhecidos, e hervas tinha:
Hum delles a presença traz cansada,
Como quem de mais longe alli caminha:
E assi a agoa, com impeto alterada,
Parecia, que de outra parte vinha,
Bem como Alféo de Arcadia em Syracusa
Vai a buscar os braços de Aretusa.

73.

Este, que era o mais grave na pessoa,
Desta arte para o Rey de longe brada:
O tu, a cujos Reynos, e Coroa,
Grande parte do mundo está guardada:
Nósoutros, cuja fama tanto voa,
Cuja cerviz bem nunca foi domada,
Te avisamos, que he tempo, que ja mandes
A receber de nós tributos grandes.

covery of India, and if it was a matter which might come to pass, so that the labour which would be necessary for this

Manuel appears to have written a book on the *Climate of Portugal.* This book was in 1786 amongst the MSS. of Alcobaça, but is now lost. Manuel de Faria y Sousa, second edition, Lisbon, 1680, tome iii, part iv, cap. ix, gives an extract from Zacut's Prologue addressed to the King. Rabbi Abraham Zacut is also the author of an almanack beginning from 1473, in which he is mentioned as the astronomer of D. Manuel. This almanack was translated into Latin from the Hebrew by Master Joseph Vizinus, his disciple, and printed at Leiria in 1496. Brunet says only one copy of it is known to exist in the Royal Library at Lisbon. Besides that, there is one in the National Library, another in that of the Academy of Lisbon, and a third in the library at Evora. This almanack begins with a dedicatory epistle from Zacut to the Bishop of Salamanca. Brunet mentions two other editions, Venice 1496 and 1502; there is another, or recast of the book, called "Almanach perpetnum sive tacuinus, Ephemerides & diarinm Abraami Zacuti hebrei," printed at Venice in 1525, with corrections by Dr. Luca Guarici.

The library of the Academy of History, Madrid, possesses a MS., proceeding from the Jesuits' library, of Abraham Zacut, in Spanish, named "*Ajuntamiento mayor* con el tratado de las Nacencias: et Almanach omnium planetarum & est tam ad revolutiones præteritas quam ad futuras; et est ejus principium anni 1473 inclusive, et primo

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74.

Eu sou o illustre Ganges, que na terra
Celeste tenho o berço verdadeiro,
Estoutro he o Indo Rey, que nesta serra
Que vés, seu nascimento tem primeiro:
Custar-te-hemos com tudo dura guerra,
Mas insistindo tu por derradeiro,
Com não vistas victorias sem receyo,
A quantas gentes vés poras o freyo.

Canto IV, 71.

From out those fountains seem'd to issue then,
Advancing to him with gigantic stride,
Two very ancient venerable men
Of noble aspect, dash'd with rustic pride.
Dripp'd from their drenchèd locks the water sheen
Adown their vasty limbs on every side,
Thick matted beards, but long and silver-white,
Flow'd o'er their tawny breasts like streams of light.

should not be lost in vain; for if it were a possible thing, he had the will and readiness to spend upon it all that was

ponuntur revolutiones solis." This MS. is in good writing of the fifteenth century, on paper bearing the mark of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella: it is in two columns; at the top of the first column there is written, in paler ink and in a different hand—

"abraem zechut ebreus composuit
inter alios istum librum qui vulgari ser-
mone ajuntami^{ento} maior apellat^{ur}
qui utinam deum trinū et unum instar christia-
nor^{um} cognovisset."

The MS. begins—

"por q' ya es aclarado q' la rrayz e el
prįçipio para alcançar la sciēta

72.

Their temples with wild coronals were bound,
Mysterious wreaths of boughs and herbs unknown.
One weary seem'd, as if from other ground
He came and thence had travell'd far alone.
His flood too roll'd with other force and sound,
As though from some remoter fount come down,
So stole from Arcady to Syracuse
Alpheus to rejoin his Arethuse.

73.

And he, the graver elder of the twain,
The King thus greeted, shouting from afar:
"O thou, the monarch for whose crown and reign
Regions immense reserved and destined are,
We, whose renown is known to land and main,
We, yet untaught a stranger's yoke to bear,
Unwilling come to tell thee 'tis thy time
To claim vast tribute of our gorgeous clime.

74.

"I am illustrious Ganges! my true fount
Is in the hidden groves of Paradise:
And this, O King! is Indus; from the mount
He springs which yonder stands before thine eyes;
On many a deadly struggle must thou count
Ere we are thine; persist and win the prize.
By matchless victories thy constant arm
Shall tame the nations that beneath thee swarm."

Quillinan.

possible, but he would do nothing in it without his counsel, and for that he had summoned him, and for the same

del astrologia es a saber perfēta-
mente los mouimentos del sol e de la luna
q' se llama en uocablo de los sabios thalimoh
cuenta de circulos e signos. e tanbiē la lla-
marō secreto de hibur en el libro q' ha-
bla de los hechos del primº dia del año. en-
pero segū la verdad no es este el q' mādarō
q' fuese secreto segū q' parece por sus pala-
bras en el libro de los cassamientos. por
eso puse mis ojos e mi coraçō para igua-
lar todos sus movimientos porq' sean cla-
ras a todos nosotros sus diversidades por
su curso verdadero."

This MS. ends—

"E a las vezes hallares estrella q' tie-
ne cōplexiō de dos ptas q'ndo se junta e obra
aq'lla estrella en su cabo como aq'llas dos
ptas juntas. Aqui se acaba este capitulo
muy honrrado e proveitoso e cōplimiº de n'ro
libro mayor. Deo gratias."

The following account of Zacut and of his science is given by Gaspar Correa in his *Lendas da India*, between the histories of João da Nova and Vasco da Gama's second voyage:—

"The king was much inclined to astronomy (*estrolomia*), for which reason he frequently conversed with the Jew Zacuto, because he found him very exact in everything; and these ships having arrived thus [four ships of Joam da Nova which reached Lisbon in August 1502], and telling him that they had not met with any contrary storm on their way, the others having experienced so many tempests, the king spoke of this to the pilots, who could give him no reason for it; and one day the Jew Zacuto being present, and hearing it all, he said to the king: 'Sire, the sea which your ships traverse is very large; in some parts of it it is summer, in others winter, and all in one course; and two ships may go, one after the other, and both by the same course, one will arrive in a region where it is then winter and will meet with storms; and when the other arrives there it will be summer, and it will not meet with the storm which the other found: and this is why some will meet with storms and others not. And the reason why the winters and summers are not fixed in any certain spot, is because the sea is very wide and desert, remote from the land, and the storms and calms take their course in many uncertain parts. But when the navigators of this course

strongly recommended to him to look and see with attention what he could ascertain about this from his good science,

shall have more experience in making their course, and they know how to take the summer which there is in the open sea between here and the Cape of Good Hope, both in going and coming, they will make this voyage in a very short time, and will go and come without labour and in safety, if they are prudent in their navigation. Since, Sire, with the great desire which I feel for your service, I have laboured much to comprehend the secrets of this navigation, I have understood that the departure of the sun causes the storms and irregularities of the weather; because, when the sun removes from the equinoctial line to the northern parts, the southern part remains dark and cold. This diminution of the heat of the sun causes the diminution of the days which are shorter, and increases the tempests by the coldness of the waters, which are more stirred up by the winds, and because the Cape of Good Hope advances much into the sea in the southern region, and the sun being at a distance from the line in the northern direction, so that the south remains dark and cold; thereby are caused the great storms and tempests, and short days of scanty light, which the ships find, because the sun is removed a long way from there: and when the sun goes to the southern part, then there will be calms and warm and longer days in the sea of the Cape of Good Hope. And because at the time the ships are making for the Cape, or are near it, the sun is removed to the northern region, for this cause the storms and darkness of the short days remain about the Cape. On that account the Ptolemies and others who have written named it the Stormy Cape, because it is deprived of the shelter of lands, which are very far removed from it, for there is no land on its east or west side, only in a direct line the nearest land is the coast of India to Cape Comorym, and on this other side by the same line the Cape Verde, which is a very great distance; and with the navigation which the ships now make to double the Cape to windward of it, giving it a wide berth to allow for the winds being from seaward, they make a bend by which they traverse more than seven thousand leagues, which voyage they could much shorten and improve when the pilots shall have learned by experience the removal of the sun to a distance, and to which part it goes, for the removal of the sun is the cause of the good and bad weather. And, Sire, because I have laboured much in this, in order to assure myself of the truth of it I have made an experiment as to the declination of the sun and its lengthening its distance from the line to either side of north or south, and of how much time it goes to one extremity, and how much to the other, and how far it proceeds, and whether it runs as much in going as in returning, and I have found that it journeys over all with a regular course and pace. So that I have well

and for this he should take whatever time he chose for giving his reply. The Jew took charge of the commission

ascertained, and laid it down in a kind of formula, how much the sun removes itself each day, both in its going away and in its return; in such wise that in any part where navigators may have sighted the sun at midday, or the north star at night, and make their reckoning of the sun's declination, they may know what distance they have gone, and will know how to navigate all the seas in the world. If it please the Lord that I may finish ascertaining some doubts which are still obscure to me, I affirm to your Highness that this navigation to India will then be so easy that very small vessels will be able to sail thither; and so small as to be only capable of containing the provisions and water for the people that go in them, because all the advantage of this course and navigation will consist in knowing how to seize upon the seasons in their proper monsoons, so as not to fall in with storms and contrary winds, which cause detention."

The king having heard all this was much gratified, and promising the Jew many rewards for his labour, strongly recommended him to complete so good a work as he had begun. This the Jew undertook, and as he had tried everything, and discovered with certainty the course of the sun and its changes, he made experiments from the stars with his astronomical arts, and made rules for the sun's declination, separating the years, each one by itself, and the months and days, from one bissextile year to another, which are exactly four years, and as to how much the sun progresses each day, reckoning from midday to midday, both in the northern and in the southern region, all this with much arrangement and good order. For this purpose he made a form (pasta) of copper of the thickness of half a finger, round, with a ring (argola), in which it was suspended straight, and upon it lines and points, and in the middle another plate (chapa), also of copper, sliding round the circumference, and in it were placed some holes bored opposite one another, so that the sun entering through both at the moment of midday, it was seen in what part was the sun; all this with great art and subtle method: and he named it astrolabe, for taking thus the exact spot in which the sun was, and making a reckoning in the table of each year, it was known how many leagues had been gone. This the Jew taught to some pilots whom the king sent to him, how and in what manner they were to take the sun at the moment of midday with the astrolabe, and teaching them the reckoning they had to make with the tables of the rules, in all which he indoctrinated them much. The king then sent these men away to sail to a certain part, and the Jew gave them large charts with lines (riscos) of different colours which showed the names of the winds all round the north star; this received the name of

and returned to Beja; and on his setting about it, the Lord was pleased to shew him his will. Having well ascertained all, he returned to the king with much satisfaction, and said to him, "Sire, with the great care which I have taken in the matter which your highness so much enjoined upon me, and with the good pleasure of Our Lord, that which I have found out and learned is that the province of India is very far off from this our region, far removed by wide seas and lands,

navigating needle, and scale of the degrees to the southward for reckoning the leagues traversed by the sun in its course,[1] with many other arrangements and experiments which the pilots understood, and experimented with in the currents of the sea. So that this science of piloting became continually more defined and ascertained, and as they sailed they laid down the lands in the charts, and the islands in their proper limits by the sun's altitude, by reckoning of leagues, and courses of the winds and soundings and bearings, which continually was more brought to the great perfection in which it now is: God be for ever praised, Who was pleased that the Jew should speak with such certainty of all, and of the small vessels navigating this voyage, as was seen later to be the case, and as will be found further on in some parts of this book. The king esteemed this as being as great a service as it is seen to be, and derived from it such great satisfaction, that he conferred many favours upon the Jew, so that he endeavoured still more, taking greater pains to make another greater contrivance, which was still wanting to this work, and which it was desirable to accomplish, because if the weather was rainy, and the sun concealed, in order to take an observation with the astrolabe when they remained blind in their voyage, he arranged the tables of the sun's course with the circumferences of the north star, for which he made another contrivance for taking the point in which the north star was, with such art that all the pilots remained very perfect in their knowledge of navigation in all weathers: thus practising navigation to India and other parts they continued improving by the experience they had of these things, navigating both with the sun and the darkness of the night. All which was for the great increase of good, as at the present day appears, for the service of the Lord God; because learned men of subtle understanding went on attaining and ascertaining still more, so that now it is quite perfect. This was all begun by the

[1] This passage is obscure: the text of it is—"a que se pos nome agulha de marear, compasso dos graos do Sul pera a conta das legoas no discurso do andar do Sol."

all inhabited by dark people, in which there are great riches and merchandise, which go forth to many parts of the world, and there is much risk before they can come to this our region. That which I have looked at, and by the will of Our Lord have attained to is, that your highness will discover it, and will subjugate a large part of India in a very short time, because, Sire, your planet is great, under the sphere, the device of your royal person, in which are contained the heavens and the earth; for God will be pleased to bring all this into your power; which power will never end, for the king who fears God, even though he spent his whole kingdom in this; because God kept this enterprise reserved for your Highness. And I find that two natural brothers of yours will discover India, but who they may be I cannot ascertain. But since it is thus ordained of God, He will show all the truth of what I have said to your Highness: upon which I stake my head in pledge, under the pleasure of our Lord, in whose power everything is." All which having been heard by the king, he gave great thanks to the Jew for such good news as he had given him, and he enjoined him strictly to maintain great secrecy about this for the great importance of it to his State.

said Jew, named Zacuto, a great astrologer, who afterwards fled from Portugal to Gulfo,[1] where many others betook themselves; and there he died in the error in which the enemy blinded him, having acquired such knowledge of the stars, and remaining blind in such a bright day as is our holy Catholic faith; and as this affair happened in this year of 1502, I have put it here for his memory, for I have written this in this year of 1561. God be for ever praised.

[1] *Julfo*, Ajuda MS.

CHAPTER IV.

How the King commanded the ships which had been begun to be finished, and how they were provided with the things which they had to take for their voyage.

The king, in his great satisfaction at what the Jew had told him, gave great praise to our Lord for having granted him the so great favour of so important an affair as the discovery of the navigation to India in the commencement of his reign: the which had not been granted to any other king of Christendom, and during so long a time had been reserved for him: and with great trust in our Lord, he followed his chief inclination and desire, which was all for His holy service. He immediately gave orders for the finishing of the three ships which were begun,[1] and that they should be made the strongest built that was possible. So much diligence was employed in this, that in a short time they were completed and launched in the sea, and equipped with everything. The king ordered the sailors who had gone with Janifante, who were good workmen, to serve in this labour of the caravels, and to supply the ships with double tackle and sets of sails, and artillery and munitions in great abundance: above all, provisions with which the ships were to be filled, with many preserves, and perfumed waters, and in each ship, all the articles of an apothecary's shop for the sick, a master, and a priest for confession. The king also

[1] Castanheda says he ordered two ships to be built of the wood which D. Joam had ordered to be cut; one, the *S. Gabriel* of 120 tons, the other, the *S. Rafael* of 100, and he bought a carvel of 50 tons to go with these ships from a pilot named Birrio, from whom the carvel took its name. Correa says further on that the three ships were built of the same size and pattern, in order that each ship might avail itself of any part of the tackle and fittings.

ordered all sorts of merchandise, of what was in the kingdom and from outside of it, and much gold and silver coined in the money of all Christendom and of the Moors; and cloths of gold and silk, and wool, of all kinds and colours; and many jewels of gold, necklaces, chains, and bracelets, and ewers of silver and silver-gilt, yataghans (gomia), swords, daggers, smooth and engraved, and adorned with gold and silver workmanship; spears and shields, all adorned so as to be fit for presentation to the kings and rulers of the countries where they might put into port; and a little of each kind of spice. The king also commanded slaves to be bought who knew all the languages which might be fallen in with; and all the supplies which seemed to be requisite were provided in great abundance and in double quantities.

CHAPTER V.

How the King gave the captaincy of three ships to Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of his house, and charged him to go and discover India.

WHILST these things were being thus prepared, the king was full of care both day and night, as to whom he should entrust this so great enterprise; he was always praying the Lord, that if this affair was to be for His holy service, He would be pleased to show him the men whom it would please Him to send upon this voyage, with respect to which the king was occupied in constant thought. The grandees of the kingdom, seeing the preparations which the king was making for this fleet which he was going to send for the discovery, spoke to him about a few men who appeared to be fitting for this, but the king answered them, that he had them already decided upon. Many days passed thus, and one day the king sitting in his hall of business at a table with his officers, giving orders, by chance the king raised his

eyes,[1] and Vasco da Gama happened to cross through the hall: he was a gentleman of the household, and of noble lineage, son of Estevan da Gama, who had been comptroller of the household of the King Dom Alfonso, for in that time they took honour more from nobility of blood than from titles of Dom, which were not then customary amongst those who were noble by direct lineage. This Vasco da Gama was a discreet man, of good understanding, and of great courage for any good deed. The king setting eyes

[1] Barros says that the king, being in Estremoz, named Vasco da Gama as captain major of the fleet, both for the confidence he placed in him, and from Vasco da Gama having a claim to this voyage; for, according as it was said, Estevan da Gama, his father, now deceased, had been decided upon for making this voyage during the life of the King Dom Joam. Camoens gives an account which agrees with that of Gaspar Correa, and he makes Vasco da Gama say—Canto IV, 77—

Eu que bem mal cuidava, que em effeito
Se puzesse, o que o peito me pedia,
Que sempre grandes cousas deste geito,
Presago o coração me prometia:
Não sei porque razão, porque respeito,
Ou porque bom sinal, que em mi se via,
Me poem o inclito Rey nas mãos a chave
Deste cometimento grande, & grave.

78.

E com rogo, & palavras amorosas,
Que he hum mando nos Reys, que à mais obriga,
Me disse: As cousas arduas & lustrosas,
Se alcanção com trabalho, & com fadiga:
Faz as pessoas altas, & famosas,
A vida, que se perde, & que periga,
Que quando ao medo infame não se rende
Então, se menos dura, mais se estende

79.

Eu vos tenho entre todos escolhido
Para huma empresa, qual à vós se deve;
Trabalho illustre, duro, & esclarecido,
O que eu sei que por mi vos serà leve:
Não sofri mais, mas logo, ó Rey subido
Aventurarme a ferro, a fogo, a neve,
He tão pouco por vós, que mais me pena
Ser esta vida cousa tão pequena.

upon him, his heart was transported, and he called him, and he kneeled before the king, who said to him: "I should rejoice if you would undertake a service which I require of you in which you must labour much." He kissed his hand, saying: "Sire, I am a servant for any labour that may be,

81.

Com merces sumptuosas me agradece,
E com razões me louva esta vontade;
Que a virtude louvada vive e crece,
E o louvor a altos casos persuade.
A acompanharme logo se offerece,
Obrigado de amor, e de amizade,
Não menos cobiçoso de honra, e fama,
O caro meu irmão, Paulo da Gama.

Canto IV, 77.

I—whose foreboding heart would still project
Great things like this, as if for me design'd,
But who had scarcely hoped to give effect
To such ambitious longings of my mind,—
I know not for what reason, what respect,
Or what good omen in my star divined,
The king entrusted to my hands the key
Of this reluctant stubborn mystery.

Quillinan.

78.

And with intreaties, and with sugard praise
(Which are the pow'rfullest commands of kings)
He sayd to me—"Through deep and rugged ways,
Vertue attains the best and noblest things,
A life well lost, or hazarded, to bays
Of everlasting Honour persons brings:
For (if to sordid feare it never bends)
The shorter 'tis, the farther it extends.

79.

You have I chose (and all the rest set by)
To a taske fit for you to undergoe:
A taske heroick, difficult and high,
Which (for my sake) you will think light, I know.
I could not suffer more: but thus reply,
O my dread leige! through swords, through fire, through [snow,
For thee to venture, only is annoy
When I consider life is such a toy.

since my service is required, which I will perform so long as my life lasts." At which the king rose up, and went to sit at a table which was set out in the hall for dinner, and whilst there he said to Vasco da Gama that it was his will that he should go in those ships where he would send him, that it was an affair upon which he was much bent, and on that account that he should make ready. To this, Vasco da Gama replied that his soul was in readiness, and that there was nothing to detain him from embarking at once. When the king had finished dining he withdrew to his chamber, and asked of Vasco da Gama if he had any brother. He answerd that he had three, one a lad, another who was studying to be a priest, and another older, and that all were men very ready to serve in anything that was committed to them. The king said to him: "Call him to go with you in one of the two ships, and do you choose the one you like best, in which you shall carry my standard; for you shall be the captain-major of the others." Vasco da Gama kissed his hand, and said: "Sire, it would not be in reason that I should carry the standard, because my brother is older than I, but he shall carry it, and I will go under his command, which is right, and your Highness should have it so for your

81.

With sumptuous boons; and words, that those exceed;
My good will he doth praise, and gratifie:
For vertue, spurr'd with praise, doubles her speed;
And is inflam'd to enterprises high.
To second me in this exployt, agreed
(Oblig'd by nature's and by friendship's tye
  Thirsty alike of Honour, and of fame)
  My dear and loving brother Paul de Game.

Fanshaw.

Castanheda says that the king offered the command to Paulo da Gama, son of Estevan da Gama, chief alcayde of Sinis; he excused himself on the ground of ill-health, from being unable to endure the fatigues of the chief command, and begged the king to give that charge to his brother Vasco, who was experienced in seafaring, having done much service for Dom Joam.

service." At which answer the king shewed his pleasure, and said: "That he greatly rejoiced at the good knowledge which he had of obedience, and that for this God would grant him a great reward, and that he expected good service from one who had such good knowledge of what obedience was, which is a great virtue: and in that matter that he should dispose of it as he pleased;" but his heart found rest in him, and on that account committed everything to him in the carrying out of this voyage; "for my heart tells me that my desire will be accomplished by you: therefore dispose yourself as you think fit; for to you alone, I give the command and the whole charge; and do you look out for a captain for the other ship, a man according to your will and pleasure." For which Vasco da Gama kissed the king's hand, and said to him: "Sire, my elder brother, whom I mentioned to your Highness, is named Paulo da Gama, and he is now absent on account of a wound which was given to the judge of Setubal, for which he is blamed: and without a pardon from your Highness he will not be able to come." The king said to him: "For love of you I pardon him my justice, for the services which I expect from you and him, he satisfying the parties now that he has his pardon; and let him come at once without making any delay; and meanwhile do you attend to the preparations and equipment of the ships, and take the sailors who best please you, and so of all other things, because, if it please God, you will discover India: and I pray our Lord, that He may so permit it for His holy service, and I recommend you to Him, and your labours shall be well rewarded by me." For which Vasco da Gama kissed his hand.

CHAPTER VI.

How Vasco da Gama provided the ships in great abundance with the things that were necessary for his voyage.

Vasco da Gama wrote at once to his brother all that had happened, so that he should endeavour to arrange matters with the judge and obtain his pardon, since he had got that of the king, and then come to kiss the king's hand, as was highly fitting. This Paulo da Gama did with much diligence; and he obtained the forgiveness and became friends with the judge, from whom he obtained a document, with which he came to the king, and kissed his hand and said: "Sire, I owe much to God for granting me the great favour that your Highness should choose to make use of me in a business so important for your service." The king replied: "I selected your brother; and he (selected) you to be assisted by you in his labour in this enterprise, which God inclined me to commit to him; for which my heart greatly trusts that he will give satisfaction to my desire, on which account I commit to him the whole charge and authority. He, like a good brother, knowing the obedience which he owes to you from your being his elder, would wish to go under your command, by which he shewed obedience to God, for which I hope that our Lord will reward you both: and I confide in both of you, that you are men such as will do me such good service as will oblige me to give you great recompenses. But as I have set my will upon your brother to give him the charge of this voyage, you may arrange amongst each other as you please with respect to the honour of the standard, for I shall be pleased any way." For this the two kissed the king's hand, with many compliments for the satisfaction and giving pleasure to the king; and they presented to him

as captain of the other ship, a great friend of theirs named Nicolas Coelho, Vasco da Gama saying: "Sire, this man is nothing less than a brother in the friendship which we bear him; he shall be our partner if your Highness approve of his going in the other ship." The king said: "I am content since you are so"; for which they all kissed his hand.[1] The king commanded Vasco da Gama to make ready to set out presently, and to ascertain all that he required to take with him, and whatever more he wanted to ask for it from his officers, to whom he had given orders to give him whatever and as much as he asked for; and he was to choose masters and pilots at his pleasure, because thenceforward there would not be navigation by latitude nor charts; only the needle to know the points of the compass, and the sounding plummets for running down the coast; and knowledge of the lands and a good estimation by means of the good judgment which God gave him. Vasco da Gama was of a very indefatigable disposition, and very skilful in all things, and he equipped the ships which were named *Sam Miguel*, *Sam Gabriel*, and *Sam Rafael*; for when the King

[1] Camoens, Canto IV, 82—

Mais se me ajunta Nicolao Coelho,
De trabalhos mui grande sofredor;
Ambos são de valia, e de conselho,
De experiencia em armas, e furor.
Ja de manceba gente me aparelho,
Em quem crece o desejo de valor,
Todos de grande esforço, e assi parece,
Quem a tamanhas cousas se offerece.

Nich'las Coellio makes a third: for pains
Most indefatigable. And these are
My two supporters strong of hand, and brains:
Experienc't both, both no less bold in warr.
I get me a young crew of sturdy swains,
Whose budding valour itcht for martial jarr:
All metled lads; and so, it well appeers,
That came to such a business volunteers.

Fanshaw.

Dom Joan fitted them out, he gave them those names. Vasco da Gama spoke to the sailors who were told off for the voyage, and strongly recommended them, until the time of their departure, to endeavour to learn to be carpenters, rope-makers, caulkers, blacksmiths, and plank-makers; and for this purpose he gave them an increase of two cruzados a month beyond the sailors' pay which they had, which was of five cruzados a month; so that all rejoiced at learning, so as to draw more pay. And Vasco da Gama bought for them all the tools which befitted their crafts.

Thus[1] the ships were supplied with the full complement of what was requisite. Vasco da Gama gave an account to the king of all that he did, and always talked to him of the things which he desired; and the king told him to do what his heart prompted him with respect to those ships and whatever they bore in them, and that in the countries at which he touched, he should take great precautions for taking care of his health and life upon which depended all that had been done, and that remained to be accomplished; and, according as he saw fit, he was to make peace or war, and to make of himself a merchant or a warrior, or one cast away, or who had lost his way, and he was to make himself an ambassador, and of his own part he might send embassages to kings and rulers, and give letters under his signature, and do as he thought fit; and all that he said to him thus was nought, because it seemed to the king in his heart that Vasco da Gama would know much the best what to do; for each time his heart received greater satisfaction from him.

[1] This paragraph and the greater part of the next chapter down to the bracket is missing from the printed edition of Correa; the absence of this portion does not appear to have been observed, for the printed text runs thus, without a break in the paragraph:—"E Vasco da Gama lhe comprou todas sus ferramentas doque compria a seus officios. Aos casados mandou El Rey pagar a cada hum cem cruzados pera deixarem a suas molheres," etc.

CHAPTER VII.

How the King committed the Royal Standard to Vasco da Gama in the Cathedral of Lisbon,[1] and despatched him, and he departed to the discovery of India.

The ships being equipped and ready, as I have said, one Sunday the king went with the Queen Dona Maria to hear Mass, which was said pontifically by the Bishop Calçadilha, who also made a discourse in praise of the voyage, and holy design of the king in regard to the new discovery which he was commanding to be made; and he called upon the people to pray to the Lord that the voyage might be for his holy service, and for the exalting of his holy faith, and for the increase of the good and honour of the kingdom of Portugal. When the Mass was ended, at which the good brothers and their associate were present, richly dressed, and to whom the king shewed great honour and favour, as they stood close to the curtain, where also were the principal lords of the realm and gentlemen of the court, the king came out from the curtain, and spoke to the captains who placed themselves on their knees before him, and they spoke to him, saying: "Sire, the honour we are receiving from your Highness is so great, that with a hundred bodies and lives which we might expend in your service we never could repay the least part of it, since greater honours were never shewn by a sovereign to his vassals, than you have done us, as the great prince, king, and lord that you are, with such magnanimity and honour that, if at this very moment we should die, our lineage would remain in the highest degree of honour which is possible, only because your Highness has chosen and sent

[1] Castanheda says the King despatched Gama and his captains from Montemor o novo, from which they went to Lisbon. Barros says the king was at Montemor when he appointed Gama.

us for this work, whilst you have so many and such noble vassals to whom to commit it: for which we are already recompensed before rendering this service, and until we end our lives in performing it. For this we beg of the mercy of the Lord, that He direct us, and that we may perform such works that He, the Lord, and your Highness also, may be served in some measure in this so great favour that has been shown us, as He knows that such is our desire; and should we not be deserving to serve Him in this voyage, and so holy undertaking, may the Lord be pleased that we may pay with our lives for our shortcomings in the work. We promise your Highness that our lives will be the matters of least moment that we shall adventure in this so great favour that has been shewn us, and that we will not return before your Highness with our lives in our bodies, without bringing some certain information of that which your Highness desires." And they all again kissed the hands of the king and of the queen: upon which the king came forth from the cathedral and went to his palace which then was in the residence of the alcasbah in the castle. There went before him the captains, and before them the standard which was carried by their ensign in whom they trusted, and on arriving at the palace the king dismissed them, and they again kissed his and the queen's hand. Vasco da Gama on a horse, with all the men of the fleet on foot, richly dressed in liveries, and accompanied by all the gentlemen of the court, went down to the wharf on the bank, and embarked in their boats, and the standard went in that of Paulo da Gama. Then, taking leave of the gentlemen, they went to the ships, and on their arrival they fired all their artillery, and the ships were dressed out gaily with standards and flags, and many ornaments, and the royal standard was at once placed at the top of the mast of Paulo da Gama; for so Vasco da Gama commanded, and discharging all their artillery, they loosened the sails, and went beating to windward on the river of Lisbon, tacking

until they came to anchor at Belem, where they remained three days waiting for a wind to go out. There they made a muster of the crews, and the king was there all the time in the monastery, where all confessed and communicated. The king commanded that they should write down in a book all the men of each ship by name, with the names of their fathers, mothers, and the wives of the married men, and the places of which they were native; and the king ordered that this book should be preserved in the House of the Mines, in order that the payments which were due should be made upon their return, because][1] the king ordered that a hundred cruzados should be paid to each of the married men for them to leave it to their wives, and forty cruzados to each of the single men, for them to fit themselves out with certain things; for, as to provisions, they had not got to lay them in, for the ships were full of them: and to the two brothers a gratification of two thousand cruzados to each of them, and a thousand to Nicolas Coelho.

When it was the day of our Lady of March[2] (the 25th), all heard Mass; then they embarked, and loosed the sails, and went forth from the river, the king coming out to accompany

[1] End of leaf lost from the Lisbon MS.

[2] Barros says that the day before his departure, Gama and the other captains held vigils in the house of our Lady of Belem, and on the following day of our Lady, which was Saturday, July 8, 1497, many people flocked there to take leave of the fleet: and the priests and friars ordered a procession when Vasco da Gama was going to embark: he and his went with tapers in their hands, and the people of the city followed uttering the responses to a Litany, until they reached the boats. There, all kneeling, the vicar of the monastery made aloud a general confession, and at the end absolved them in the form of the Bulls, which Prince Henrique had obtained for those who might perish in this discovery or conquest. On that day so many tears were shed, that that shore may well be named the shore of tears; for it may be called the shore of tears for those that go, and the shore of pleasure for those that return. And when the sails were cast loose, all the crowd of spectators redoubled their tears, and commended them to God, and made prognostications, according as each one felt with respect to that departure.

them in his boat, and addressing them all with blessings and good wishes, he took leave of them, his boat lying on its oars until they disappeared, as it is shown in the painting of this city of Lisbon. Vasco da Gama went in the ship *Sam Rafael*, and Paulo da Gama in the *Sam Gabriel*, and Nicolas Coelho in the other ship *Sam Miguel*:[1] in each ship there were as many as eighty men, officers and seamen and the others of his family, servants and relations, all filled with the desire to undertake the labour that was fitting for each, and with great trust in the favours which they hoped for from the king on their return to Portugal.

Paulo da Gama, as he went out of the Lisbon river, hauled down the royal standard from the masthead, and at the great supplications of his brother, who gave him good reasons why it was fitting that he should carry it, he again hoisted it.[2]

[1] Barros says Vasco da Gama went in the *S. Gabriel*, with Peter d'Alanquer as pilot, who had been to the Cape of Good Hope, and Diogo Dias, brother of Bartholomew Dias, as clerk. Paulo da Gama was captain of the *S. Rafael;* pilot, Joam de Coimbra; and clerk, Joam de Sá. The third ship, named *Berrio*, Captain Nicolas Coelho; pilot, Peter Escolar; and clerk, Alvaro de Braga. He says these three ships were little more or less than a hundred or a hundred and twenty tons each, and their crews, between sailors and fighting men, in all a hundred and seventy men. He mentions another "ship, whose captain was one Gonzalo Nunes, a servant of Vasco da Gama, which went only manned so that after the stores of the ships had begun to be expended they might take the superabundant provisions which this ship carried, and its crew would go over to the other ships." These four sail set out with Bartholomew Dias in company in a ship which was going to Mina on the Guinea coast. Castanheda gives a similar account, but says the crews amounted to a hundred and forty-eight men, and that the store-ship, which had been bought from Ayres Correa, was of two hundred tons.

[2] Osorius says of the departure of Gama:—"Next day a great multitude came together, not only for his sake, but also on account of the others who were his companions, and led them down to the boats. Not the priests and monks alone, but all the rest of the concourse prayed aloud to God with tears that this perilous navigation might turn out well for all of them, and that all having well performed the undertaking

might return safely. This weeping and lamentation was made by so many that it seemed that funeral rites were being performed. For some spoke thus: 'See whither covetousness and ambition are carrying away these wretched men! Could a more severe punishment be found for these men, even had they confessed the most horrible crime? For they have to cross over the immense width of the ocean, and to overcome with most perilous hardships the enormous waves, and in innumerable places meet with risk to their lives. Would it not have been far more tolerable to be carried off by any kind of death on shore, rather than to be buried in the sea waves so far from home?' Such, and many like discourses they held, since fear compelled them to imagine everything sadder than it was." Osorio says Gama sailed on the 9th July.

Camoens has put these forebodings of the populace into the mouth of an old man, Canto IV, 87—

Partimonos assi do santo templo,
Que nas prayas do mar está sentado,
Que o nome tem da terra, para exemplo,
Onde Deos foi em carne ao mundo dado:
Certificote, ó Rey, que se contemplo,
Como fui destas prayas apartado,
Cheio dentro de duvida, e receio,
Que a penas nos meus olhos ponho o freio.

88.

A gente da cidade aquelle dia,
Huns por amigos, outros por parentes,
Outros por ver somente, concorria,
Saudosos na vista, e descontentes;
E nós co a virtuosa companhia
De mil Religiosos diligentes,
Em procissão solemne a Deos orando,
Para os bateis viemos caminhando.

89.

Em tão longo caminho, e duvidoso,
Por perdidos as gentes nos julgavam;
As mulheres com choro piedoso,
Os homens com suspiros que arrancavam:
Mãys, esposas, irmãas, que o temeroso
Amor mais desconfia, acrescentavam
A desesperação, e frio medo
De ja nos não tornar a ver tão cedo.

90.

Qual vai dizendo: Ó filho, a quem eu tinha
Só para refrigerio, e doce amparo
Desta cansada ja velhice minha,
Que em choro acabara penoso, e amaro;

Porque me deixas misera, e mesquinha?
Porque de mim te vás, ó filho caro,
A fazer o funereo enterramento,
Onde sejas de peixes mantimento?

91.

Qual em cabello: Ó doce e amado esposo,
Sem quem não quiz amor que viver possa;
Porque his aventurar ao mar iroso
Essa vida, que he mina, e não he vossa?
Como por hum caminho duvidoso
Vos esquece a affeição tão doce nossa?
Nosso amor, nosso vão contentamento,
Quereis que com as velas leve o vento?

92.

Nestas, e outras palavras, que diziam
De amor, e de piedosa humanidade,
Os velhos, e os mininos os seguiam,
Em quem menos esforço poem a idade:
Os montes de mais perto respondiam,
Quasi movidos de alta piedade:
A branca area as lagrimas banhavam,
Que em multidão com ellas se igualavam.

93.

Nós outros sem a vista levantarmos,
Nem á mãy, nem á esposa, neste estado,
Por nos não magoarmos, ou mudarmos
Do proposito firme começado:
Determinei de assi nos embarcarmos,
Sem o despedimento costumado,
Que postoque he de amor usança boa,
A quem se aparta, ou fica, mais magoa.

94.

Mas hum velho d'aspeito venerando,
Que ficava nas prayas, entre a gente,
Postos em nós os olhos, meneando
Tres vezes a cabeça, descontente,
A voz pesada hum pouco levantando,
Que nós no mar ouvimos claramente,
Cum saber só de experiencias feito,
Taes palavras tirou do experto peito.

95.

Ó gloria de mandar! ó vãa cobiça
Desta vaidade, a quem chamamos fama!
Ó fraudulento gosto, que se atiça
Cuma aura popular, que honra se chama!

Que castigo tamanho, e que justiça
Fazes no peito vão, que muito te ama!
Que mortes, que perigos, que tormentas,
Que crueldades nelles experimentas!

96.

Dura inquietação d'alma, e da vida,
Fonte de desamparos, e adulterios,
Sagaz consumidora conhecida
De fazendas, de reinos, e de imperios:
Chamam-te illustre, chamam-te subida,
Sendo digna de infames vituperios:
Chamam-te Fama, e gloria soberana,
Nomes com quem o povo nescio engana.

87.

Thus we departed from the sacred fane
That sits upon the margin of the sea,
Named for example to the proud and vain,
From Bethlehem, where God, our souls to free,
Assumed the bonds of flesh. I scarce restrain
My tears, O King! I do aver to thee,
When I remember how I left that shore,
In doubt, in trouble, for the charge I bore.

88.

The people of the city on that day,
Some for their kindred, others for their friends,
The mass in idle wonder, throng'd the way,
With gloomy looks rebuking hopeless ends;
While we, escorted by a long array,
A thousand holy friars, o'er the sands
In solemn slow procession seaward trod,
And hymn'd our fervent orisons to God.

89.

The multitude already deem'd us lost
In the long mazes of a barren chase:
The wails of women sadden'd all the coast,
Mix'd with the groans of men, a dismal base.
Brides, mothers, sisters, as they loved the most,
With deepest anguish sought a last embrace;
And hopeless while in presence of their own,
Mourn'd the departing as for ever gone.

90.

One following cried: "O son, on whom my hope
Reposed complacent for its comfort, sole
And dear support adown the painful slope
Of weary days that now must end in dole,—

Why dost thou leave me all alone to cope
With age and wretchedness, so near my goal?
Why wilt thou go to find a stormy grave,
And feed the latent reptiles of the wave?"

91.

Another with hair loose: "O heart-loved spouse!
Forlorn of whom love wills not I should live,
What frenzy to the rage of ocean vows
A life which is my own, not thine to give?
Our home delights—canst thou abandon those,
To roam the wilds, a homeless fugitive?
Dost thou forget our love, our peace? Are they
Sport for the winds that waft the sails away?"

92.

Old men that creep as if they read the ground,
And little children, tottering as they go,
In imitation of the mourners round
Lament, for sorrows deeper than they know:
The neighbouring mountains murmur'd back the sound,
As if to pity moved for human woe,
Uncounted as the grains of golden sand
The tears of thousands fell on Belem's straud.

93.

We not so much as dared to lift our eyes
To wife or mother in their sad estate,
Lest at the threshold of our enterprise
The heart should waver from its purpose great.
So to embark my strength I ruled it wise,
Evading thus a tender custom's weight,
The last farewell, the pang that courts delay,
A sting to those that go, and those that stay.

94.

But an old man of venerable look,
Who stood among the people on the shore,
Fasten'd his gaze upon us, and thrice shook
His brow, in token of displeasure sore;
And, clearly heard by us afloat, he spoke,
From a full heart; and skill'd in worldly lore,
In deep slow tones this solemn warning fraught
With wisdom by long-suffering only taught:

95.

"O passion of dominion! O fond lust
Of that poor vanity which men call Fame!
O treacherous appetite whose highest gust
Is vulgar breath that taketh honour's name!

O fell ambition, terrible but just
Art thou to breasts that cherish most thy flame!
Brief life for them is peril, storm, and rage,
This world a hell and death their heritage.

96.

"Shrewd prodigal! whose riot is the dearth
Of states and principalities opprest;
Plunder and rape are of thy loathly birth;
Thou art alike of life and soul the pest.
High titles greet thee on this slavish earth;
Yet none so vile but they would fit thee best:
But Fame forsooth and Glory thou art styled,
And the blind herd is by a sound beguiled."

Quillinan.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the navigation which the ships performed, and of the storms which they underwent, until they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which they did not see.

The two companions, standing out to sea, as I have said, made their way towards Cape Verde,[1] and for that purpose

[1] Gaspar Correa, in accordance with his announced design of celebrating the great deeds of the Portuguese, is more intent upon giving relief to the personality of Vasco da Gama, and accordingly he passes rapidly over that part of the voyage which was not new ground. The details which he omits are here supplied from John de Barros' *Asia*, 1 Decade, Liv. iv, cap. 2:—

"With the fair wind which they had,* they arrived in thirteen days at the island of Sant-Jago which is the chief one of the Cape Verde Islands, where they took some refreshments. After leaving that island, Bartholomew Dias accompanied them until he took the direction and course to Mina, and Vasco da Gama followed his course. The first land which he made before reaching the Cape of Good Hope was the bay, which is now called that of St. Helena, five months had passed since he left Lisbon;† there he went on shore to take in water, and also

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* Castanheda's account differs; he says Da Gama ordered the ships, if separated, to rendezvous at Cape Verde Islands. They sighted the Canaries in eight days; and, on a subsequent night whilst passing the Rio do Ouro, the ships parted company in a storm, and during eight days they made their course separately for the Cape Verde Islands; and when Paulo da Gama, Coelho, Diaz, and Nunez had rejoined one another they fell in with Vasco da Gama in the afternoon of a Wednesday, and they saluted him with artillery; the next day, the 28th of July, they reached Santiago, and took in water and repaired their yard-arms, and left again on a Thursday, the 3rd of August. B. Diaz took leave there of Vasco da Gama.

† Castanheda says they sighted land at nine on Saturday, the 4th of November; but, as they did not know this point of the coast, they again stood out till the following Tuesday, when they made for the shore and reached a bay which they named Sta. Elena. Coelho was sent in his boat to find water along the coast, as there was none in the bay, and he found some four leagues further at a place which he named Santiago.

they stood well out to sea to make the coast, which they knew they would find, as it advanced much to seawards, as

to take the sun's altitude: because, as there was but a short time since mariners of this realm took advantage of the use of the astrolabe for that requirement of navigation, and as the ships were small, they did not put much trust in using them on board on account of the ship's pitching and tossing. They used chiefly an astrolabe of wood of three spans diameter, which they mounted on three poles, in the manner of shears, the better to make sure of and ascertain the solar line; and they were able distinctly to know the true altitude of that spot; since they carried with them other small ones of brass, so rudely did this art commence which has given such results to navigation. And since in this kingdom of Portugal the first use of it was discovered in navigation (but we treat of this matter at length in the first books of our geography), it will not be strange if in this place we relate when, and by whom it was discovered; for this work of his is not less worthy of praise than that of other new inventors who have found out things profitable for men's use. In the time in which the Prince Dom Henrique began the discovery of Guinea, all the navigation of mariners was along the coasts, always making their course by it, of which they had their knowledge by means of signs of which they made guides, as even in the present time they use them in some measure, and for that manner of discovery that sufficed. But after they wished to navigate in the open, losing sight of the coast, and standing out into the wide ocean, they learned how many deceptions they met with in their estimation, and judgment of the day's run; for, according to their method, they allowed so much way to the ship in the twenty-four hours, both by reason of the currents, and for other secrets which the sea possesses, of the truth of which navigation by altitude is a very clear demonstrator. But, as necessity is the teacher of all arts, in the time of the King D. Joam II, this business was given in charge by him to Master Rodrigo, and Master Joseph, a Jew: both of them doctors of his, and to one Martin of Bohemia, a native of those parts, who boasted of being a disciple of John of Monte Regio, a famous astronomer amongst the professors of that science; and these found out this method of navigating by the sun's altitude, and they made their tables of its declination such as are now used by navigators; already more perfected than they were at the commencement when those great wooden astrolabes did the work. Well, whilst Vasco da Gama was ready with the pilots to take the sun's altitude in this manner, they gave him notice that they had seen behind a hillock two Negroes walking and stooping in the manner of persons gathering herbs; and as this was the chief thing which he desired, to find some one to give him some information of the country, with much joy he gave orders to surround the

they learned from the sailors who had been in the caravels of Jauinfante; and they ran as far as they could to sea in

Negroes secretly and gently so as to take them. As they walked bent down, and busy in gathering honey at the foot of the shrubs with a burning stick in their hands, they did not perceive the people who were surrounding them until they ran upon them, and caught one of them. As there was no interpreter who understood him, and he, frightened at that novelty, did not take readily to signs, which nature has made common to all men, Vasco da Gama ordered two ship-boys to come, one of whom was a Negro, and to sit by him to eat and drink, whilst he went aside from them to let him get rid of his fear. This method proved very successful, for the ship-boys induced him to eat, so that when Vasco da Gama returned he was already rid of his fears, and by signs pointed out some mountains, which might be two leagues off, giving to understand that his people's village was at the foot of them. Vasco da Gama, as he could not send a better scout to call the others, giving him a few toys of bells and crystal beads, and a cap, ordered him to be set at liberty, making signs to him to go and return with his companions to whom he would give as much. This the Negro did at once, and that afternoon brought ten or twelve men, who came to seek what he had got, which was given to them also: but whatever articles of gold, silver, or spices were shewn to them, they gave no heed to. When next day came there came again with these more than forty, and were so familiar, that a man-at-arms named Fernan Veloso begged Vasco da Gama to let him go with them to see their village, so as to bring some more information of the country than what they could give, which Vasco da Gama conceded, almost at the entreaty of his brother, Paulo da Gama.

"Fernan Veloso having departed with the Negroes, and Vasco da Gama having returned on board his ship, Nicolas Coelho remained on shore to look after the crews whilst they collected wood, and gathered lobsters, which were abundant there. Paulo da Gama, not to be idle, and seeing many young whales passing between the ships in pursuit of the shoals of small fry, got two boats to go after them with fish-spears and harpoons, which pastime was near costing him his life. Because the sailors of the boat in which he went, had gone and made fast the ropes of two harpoons to which they were attached, to the bows of the boat where they were tied; and happening to strike a whale, it struggled so much in the fury of its pain, that it was near upsetting the boat, if the rope had not been long enough and the sea very shallow, which caused the whale to run against the bottom without being able to swim any more, which served to cool it. And as it was already afternoon, and all were about to betake themselves to their ships, they saw Fernan Veloso coming down a hill in a great hurry. Vasco da Gama,

the direction of the wind, to double the land without difficulty; and thus they navigated until they made the coast,

who had his eyes fixed upon his return, when he saw him in that haste, bade them hail the boat of Nicolas Coelho, which was coming off from the shore, and tell him to return to it to take him off. The sailors in the boat, because Fernan Veloso never omitted to talk of his prowess, when they saw him come down to the beach at a half trot, purposely delayed to take him in. This detention caused the negroes, who were in ambush waiting for them to come out on shore, to suspect that Fernan Veloso had himself made them some sign not to came out. And whilst he was trying to get into the boat two negroes ran up to him to detain him, for which boldness they came off with their chaps bathed in blood; at which the others hastened up, and the shower of stones and arrows upon the boat was so great, that when Vasco da Gama arrived to pacify them, he got an arrow through his leg, and Gonzalo Alvares, master of the ship San Gabriel, and two sailors, each received one. Vasco da Gama, seeing that there was no means of peace with them, ordered to row back to the ships, and despatched a few crossbow-men of onrs to expend their stores upon them, so that they should not remain unchastised.* Two days later, the weather being fair, Vasco da Gama gave orders for setting sail, with-

* Camoens and Osorio mention the landing for the purpose of taking an observation, and the wound received by Gama in the leg; and Camoens describes the incident of Velloso in a very lively manner, Canto v, 35—

Disse então a Velloso hum companheiro,
(Começandose todos a sorrir)
Oulá, Velloso amigo, aquelle outeiro
He melhor de descer, que de subir;
Si he, responde o ousado aventureiro,
Mas quando eu para cá vi tantos vir
Daquelles cães, depressa hum pouco vim,
Por me lembrar, que estabeis cá sem mim.

To Fernan then a boon companion tried,
While rang the decks with laughter's merry chime,
"Ho, friend Velloso, yonder mountain side
Seems less laborious to descend than climb."
"True," unabash'd the adventurer replied,
"But, when yon black pack hither troop'd, twas time,
For your sake, as I thought, my pace to mend,
Remembering you were here without your friend."

Quillinan.

and having reconnoitred it, they tacked and stood out to sea, hauling on the bowline as much as they could, and so

out bringing away any information abont the country, as he had desired; for Fernan Veloso had seen nothing to relate, except the danger which he said he had met with amongst those negroes, who as often as they went away from the beach made him come back, almost as if they wished to keep him there as a decoy, so as to do some mischief whenever they came off to take him on board, in the manner which they showed. Vasco da Gama continued his voyage, standing out to sea to get from under the land;* when the third day came, which was the twentieth November, he passed that great Cape of Good Hope, with less storms and danger than what the sailors expected, from the reputation which it bore, and on account of which it was named the Cape of Storms; and on St. Catharine's day (25th Nov.) they arrived at what is now called the watering place of San Braz, which is sixty leagues beyond the Cape. Although they found there negroes with frizzled hair like the former ones, these, without hesitation, came to the boats to receive anything that was thrown to them on the beach; and by signs they began at once to come to an understanding with our men, so that barter was established between them, giving sheep for the things which our people gave them. But of all the flocks of horned cattle that they had, our people could never obtain a single head. It appears that they valued them very highly, for some of the oxen without horns which our men saw, were very fat and clean, and women rode upon them on pack-saddles of reeds.† During three days that Vasco da Gama stayed here, our people were much entertained by them, as they are pleasure-loving people, given to playing on musical instruments and dancing; among them there were some who played upon a kind of pastoral flute, which seemed good after its fashion.‡ From which place Vasco da Gama moved to another

* Castanheda says he sailed on the morning of Thursday, the 16th November, and sighted the Cape on the afternoon of the following Saturday, but he could not double the Cape till Wednesday, the 22nd of November.

† Castanheda says some of the cattle were oxen without horns. He and Osorius and Goes mention here some birds, called sotilicayros, the size of geese, which do not fly, and bray like donkeys; their wings were membranes like those of bats. Here, Castanheda says, they remained thirteen days, and burned their store ship.

‡ Camoens, Canto v, 63—

> As mulheres queimadas vem em cima
> Dos vagorosos bois, alli sentadas,
> Animaes que elles tem em mais estima,
> Que todo o outro gado das manadas;

they ran for many days. And as it seemed to them that now they could double the land, they again tacked towards the coast, also on the bowline, against the wind, until they again saw the coast, much further on than where the caravels had reached, which the masters knew from the soundings which they had got written down from the voyage of Janinfante, and the days which they found to have less sun by the clocks. Having well ascertained this, they stood out again to sea; thus forcing the ships to windward, they went so far out to sea towards the south, that there was almost not six hours of sunlight in the day; and the wind was very powerful, so that the sea was very fearful to see, without ever being smooth either by day or night, but they always met with storms, so that the crews suffered much hardship.

port near that, because there had arisen some contention between our men and the negroes respecting barter of cattle; and they continued along the beach, following in sight of the ships until they anchored. And as a great number had come, more in form of war than of peace, he ordered a few cannon to be fired at them, but only to frighten without hurting them, and he went to take another position two leagues from that place, where he took out all the provisions which he had in the tender, and it was burned. Leaving this place on the day of the Conception (December 8th), when the fourth day arrived, which was the eve of Santa Luzia (Dec. 13th), a great storm arose."

Castanheda agrees with this. Osorio says the storm arose on the 8th December.

Cantigas pastoris, ou prosa, ou rima,
Na sua lingua cantam, concertadas
Co' o doce som das rusticas avenas,
Imitando de Tityro as camenas.

Strange ditties singing in a language strange
The sable women on their oxen rode;
(They prize, beyond all beasts that herded range,
These beeves, slow-paced and patient of their load)
They sang in concert, true to every change,
And tuned to pastoral reeds their voices flow'd:
I thought, while listening to the rural strain,
The age of Tityrus was come again.

Quillinan.

And after a month that they had run on this tack, they stood in to shore and went as long as they could, all praying to the Lord that they might have doubled beyond the land; but when they again saw it, they were very sad, though they found themselves much advanced by the signs of the soundings which the pilots took, and they saw land of another shape which they had not before seen. Seeing that the coast ran out to sea, the masters and pilots were in great confusion, and doubtful of standing out again to sea, saying that that land went across the sea and had no end to it. This being heard of by Vasco da Gama, (according as it was presumed, to the information he had from the Jew Çacuto), he told the pilots that they should not imagine such a thing, and that without doubt they would find the end of that land, and beyond it much sea and lands to run by, and he said to them: "I assure you that the Cape is very near, and with another tack standing out to sea, when you return, you will find the Cape doubled." This Vasco da Gama said to encourage them, because he saw that they were much disheartened, and with the inclination to wish to put back to Portugal. So he ordered them to put the ships about to sea, which they did much against their will; for which reason Vasco da Gama determined to stand on this tack so long as to be able to double the end of the land; and besought all not to take account of their labours, since for that purpose they had ventured upon them; and that they should put their trust in the Lord that they would double the Cape.

Thus he gave them great encouragement, without ever sleeping or taking repose, but always taking part with them in hardship, coming up at the boatswain's pipe as they all did. So they went on standing out to sea till they found it all broken up with the storm, with enormous waves, and darkness. As the days were very short, it always seemed night; the masts and shrouds were stayed, because with the fury of the sea the ships seemed every moment to be going

to pieces. The crews grew sick with fear and hardship, because also they could not prepare their food, and all clamoured for putting back to Portugal, and that they did not choose to die like stupid people who sought death with their own hands; thus they made clamour and lamentation, of which there was much more in the other ships. But the captains excused themselves, saying that they would do nothing except what Vasco da Gama did; and he and his companions underwent great labour.

As he was a very choleric man, at times with angry words he made them be silent, although he well saw how much reason they had at every moment to despair of their lives: and they had been going for about two months on that tack, and the masters and pilots cried out to him to take another tack; but the captain major did not choose, though the ships were now letting in much water, by which their labours were doubled, because the days were short and the nights long, which caused them increased fear of death; and at this time they met with such cold rains that the men could not move. All cried out to God for mercy upon their souls, for now they no longer took heed of their lives. It now seemed to Vasco da Gama that the time was come for making another tack, and he comported himself very angrily, swearing that if they did not double the Cape, he would stand out to sea again as many times until the Cape was doubled, or there should happen whatever should please God. For which reason, from fear of this, the masters took much more trouble to advance as much as they could; and they took more heart on nearing the land, and escaping from the tempest of the sea: and all called upon God for mercy, and to give them guidance, when they saw themselves out of such great dangers. Thus approaching the land, they found their labour less, and the seas calmer, so they went on running for a long time, steering so as to make the land and to ease the ships, which they were better able to do at night when

the captain slept, which the other ships did also, as they followed the lantern which Vasco da Gama carried: at night the ships showed lights to one another so as not to part company. Seeing how much they had run, and did not find the land, they sailed larger so as to make it; and as they did not find it, and the sea and wind were moderate, they knew that they had doubled the Cape;[1] on which great joy fell upon them, and they gave great praise to the Lord on seeing themselves delivered from death. The pilots continued to sail more free, spreading all the sails; and running in this manner, one morning they sighted some mountain peaks which seemed to touch the clouds; at which their pleasure was so great that all wept with joy, and all devoutly on their knees said the *Salve*. After running all day till

[1] From Correa's mentioning November a little further on, the Cape must have been doubled in October or November. Barros and the other historians make the voyage from Lisbon to the Cape four months and a half, from July 8 to November 20; Correa gives seven months, from March 25th to the end of October. Correa's account of the doubling of the Cape and of the long tacks to the south is more probable than the short passage of the other historians from St. Helena Bay to the Cape, since all the historians agree as to the shortness of the days and darkness which the ships met with, and which they must have gone far south of the Cape to find in anything like the degree mentioned by Correa, viz., a day of six hours sunlight. This shortness of the days near the Cape shows that Gama arrived there in the winter of that region, that is to say, much before November (Barros' date), which adds to the probability of Correa's date of the departure, March 25, being the correct one, and not July 8, which, moreover, is not Lady Day, as stated by Barros. Osorio also, in mentioning the discovery of St. Helena Bay and the river St. James, which are near to another, says they were so named because of being discovered on those saints' days; but St. Helena is on the 18th August or 3rd September, and St. James on the 25th July, so that these dates do not agree unless older calendars have a different date for either of these saints' days. Camoens and Barros moreover say that Gama reached St. Helena Bay five months after leaving Lisbon, whereas from July 8 to the beginning of November (November 7 is Castanheda's date) makes only four months. Five months from March 25, Correa's date would bring the date of arrival at St. Helena into accordance with that saint's day, August 18.

night, they were not able to reach it, and discovered great mountain ridges, so as it was night they ran along the coast which lay from east to west; and they took in all the sails only running under the large sails, for these were the orders of the captain major. The next day at dawn they again set all the sails and ran to the land, so that at mid-day they saw a beach which was all rocky, and running along it, they saw deep creeks, and such large bays, that they could not see the land at the end of them; they also found the mouths of great rivers, from which water came forth to the sea with a powerful current; here also, near the land, they found many fish which they killed with fish-spears. The watchmen in the tops were always on the look out to see if there were shoals ahead. The crews grew sick with fever from the fish which they ate, on which account they ate no more. The pilots, on heaving the lead, found no bottom: so they ran on for three days, and at night they kept away from the land, and shortened sail. Sailing in this manner they fell in with the mouth of a large river, and the captain major ordered a boat to be lowered, and the pilot to sound the entrance of the river; and he said that it was superfluous, because if there was a shoal it would be burst through. Then they took in the sails, excepting the great one, with which they entered the river, which was very large: and they went up it, the boat going before and sounding, and approaching land, where they found twelve fathoms, they anchored. There they found very good fish, for the river was of fresh water; but in the whole of the river they found no beach, for there was nothing but rocks and crags. Then Vasco da Gama went to see his brother, and so did Nicolas Coelho, and they all dined with great satisfaction, talking of the hardships they had gone through.

When they had finished dining, Vasco da Gama ordered Nicolas Coelho to go in his boat up the river to see if he found any village. He went up more than five leagues,

without finding anything besides many streams which came from between the mountains to pour into the river; there were no woods in the country, nothing but stones on both sides of the river: upon which he returned to the captain major. Then the following day, before the morning, Vasco da Gama again ordered Nicolas Coelho to go in a boat with sails and oars, and with provisions to eat, and told him to go as far as the head of the river, to see if he could find anyone to speak to, to learn what country they were in. He went up the river a distance of more than twenty leagues, and returned without having found anything. Then they decided on going out again, and they took in water and wood of the dry trees, which it seems the river brings down when it comes from the mountain. On that account the captain major wished himself in person to discover the river up to its head, to see whence could come those trees which they found there dry, but the masters said this would be a labour without profit, and that they ought to go out of the river and make for the country which they wished to seek, and they would find it. This seemed good to the captain major, and they came out of the river, with much labour, as the wind was contrary, and entered the mouth of the river. The strong current of the river, which went out to sea, alone assisted them, and with it they went outside without sails, only towing with the boats which guided them.

CHAPTER IX.

How the ships saw land within the Cape, and ran along it, and of what they found, and the winter overtook them at sea, where they weathered great storms, and Vasco da Gama put the pilots in irons.

When the ships returned to sea they ran along the coast with great precaution, and a good look-out not to run upon any shoals, and they entered other great rivers and bays;

and they explored everywhere and searched without ever being able to meet with people, nor boats in the sea, for all the country was uninhabited: and in entering and leaving the rivers they endured much fatigue, and were much vexed at not being able to learn in what country they were. With these detentions and delays they wasted much time, and spent all the summer of that country, so they had to run along the coast because the winds were favourable for going ahead; for they were westerly. And because they found everything desolate, without people by land or sea, they agreed unanimously not to enter any more rivers, but to run ahead; and thus they did; for by day they ran under full sail, drawing as near to the land as possible to see if they could make out any village or beach, which as yet they had not seen; and by night they stood away to sea, and ran under shortened sail. Navigating in this manner, the wind began to moderate, and fell calm altogether, which happened in November, when they had to struggle with another wind, with which they stood out to sea, fearing that some contrary storm might arise; then, taking in all sail, they lay waiting for the springing up of another wind, so they went increasing their distance from the land till they lost sight of it; for the wind increased continually, and the sea rose greatly, for then the winter of that country was setting in.[1] The masters, see-

[1] Castanheda says: during this storm Coelho parted company and rejoined the ships next night; when the storm had passed, on the 16th December, Gama sighted the flat islands which are sixty leagues from S. Blas, and five beyond the islet of the Cross, where Bartholomew Diaz set up his last landmark, and they were fifteen leagues from the Rio do Iffante. On Saturday (17th December) they passed the island of Cruz, and lay to next night so as not to run by the Rio do Iffante. On Sunday they run along the coast till evening, and then stood off and on the land till Tuesday, 20th December, when the wind shifted from astern to west. That night they lay to, and the next day at ten they reached the isle of Cruz, which was sixty leagues astern of their reckoning, on account of the great currents. The fleet then got a stern wind for three or four days, which carried it through the currents.

ing that the weather was freshening, took counsel as to returning to land and putting into some river until meeting with a change of weather. This they did, and putting about to the land, the wind increased so much that they were afraid of not finding a river in which to shelter, and of being lost. On which account they again stood out to sea, and made ready the ships to meet the storm which they saw rising every moment, so that the water should not come in, with ropes made fast to the masts, and with the shrouds passed over the yards so that the masts should remain more secure; and they took away all the pannels from the tops, and the sails, so as not to hold the wind; the small sails[1] and the lower sails all struck, and with the foresails only they prepared to weather the storm. Seeing the weather in this state, the pilot and master told the captain-major that they had great fear on account of the weather because it was becoming a tempest, and the ships were weak, and that they thought they ought to put in to land and run along the coast and return to seek the great river into which they had first entered, because the wind was blowing that way, and they could enter it for all that there was a storm. But when the captain-major heard of turning backwards, he answered them, that they "should not speak such words, because as he was going out of the bar of Lisbon, he had promised to God in his heart not to turn back a single span's breadth of the way which he had made, that on that account they should not speak in that wise, as he would throw into the sea whomsoever spoke such things. At which the crew, in despair, abandoned themselves to the chances of the sea which was broken up with the increase of the tempest and rising of the gale, which many times chopped round, and blew from all parts, and at times fell; so that the ships were in great peril from their great labouring in the waves, which ran very high. Then the storm would again break with such

[1] Monetas.

fury, that the seas rose towards the sky, and fell back in heavy showers which flooded the ships. The storm raging thus violently, the danger was doubled; for suddenly the wind died out, so that the ships lay dead between the waves, lurching so heavily that they took in water on both sides; and the men made themselves fast not to fall from one side to the other; and everything in the ships was breaking up, so that all cried to God for mercy. Before long the sea came in with more violence, which increased their misfortune, with the great difficulty of working the pumps; for they were taking in much water, which entered both above and below; so they had no repose for either soul or body, and the crews began to sicken and die of their great hardships. At this the pilots and masters and all the people poured out cries and lamentations to the captains, urgently requiring them to put back and seek an escape from death, which there they were certain of meeting with by their own will if they did not put about. To which the captains gave no other reply than that they would do no such thing unless the captain-major did it. The captain-major, seeing the clamours of his crew, answered them with brave words, saying, that he had already told them that backwards he would not go, even though he saw a hundred deaths before his eyes: thus he had vowed to God; and let them look to it that it was not reasonable that they should lose all the labours which they had gone through up to this time, that the Lord who had delivered them until now, would have mercy upon them; they should remember that they had already doubled the Cape of Storms and were in the region which they had come to seek, to discover India, on accomplishing which and returning to Portugal, they would gain such great honour and recompenses from the King of Portugal for their children; and they should put their trust in God, who is merciful, and who, from one hour to another, would come with His mercy, and give them fair weather, and that they should

not talk like people who distrusted the mercy of God. But, although the captain-major always spoke to them these and other words of great encouragement, they did not cease from their loud clamour and protestations that he would give an account to God of their deaths of which he would be the cause, and of the leaving desolate their wives and children: all this accompanied by weeping and cries, and calls to God for mercy. Whilst they went on this way with their souls in their mouths, the sea began to go down a little, and the wind also, so that the ships could approach to speak one another, and all clamoured with loud cries that they should put about to seek some place where they could refit the ships, as they could not keep them afloat with the pumps. The crews of the other ships spoke with more audacity, saying that the captain was but one man, and they were many; and they feared death while the captains did not fear it, nor took any account of losing their lives. The captain-major chose that the two other ships should know his design, and he said and swore by the life of the king his sovereign that from the spot where he then was he had not to turn back one span's breadth, even though the ships were laden with gold, unless he got information of that which they had come to seek, and that even if he had near there a very good port he would not go ashore, lest some of them should retire to a certain death on shore, allowing themselves to remain there, rather than go on with the ships trusting to the mercy of God, in which they had such small reliance that they made such exclamations from the weakness of their hearts, as if they were not Portuguese: on which account he would undeceive them all, for to Portugal they would not return unless they brought word to the king of that which he had so strongly commended to them, and that he took the same account of death as did any one of them. While they were at this point a sudden wind arose, with so great a concussion of thunder and darkness, and a stronger

blast than they had yet experienced, and the sea rose so much that the ships could not see one another, except when they were upheaved by the seas, when they seemed to be amongst the clouds; and they hung out lights so as not to part company, for the anxiety and fear which the captain-major felt was the losing one of the ships from his company, so that the seamen would put back to Portugal by force, as indeed they had very much such a desire in their hearts. But the captains took very great care of this, because Vasco da Gama, before going out of Lisbon, when conversing alone with the Jew Zacuto in the monastery, had received from him much information as to what he should do during his voyage, and especially recommendations of great watchfulness never to let the ships part company, because if they separated it would be the certain destruction of all of them. Vasco da Gama took great care of this, personally, and by means of his servants and relations in whom he trusted: and this they attended to with much greater solicitude after they had heard the sailors say that they were many, and the captains only a few single men; and in fact they had in their minds such an intention of rising np against the captains, and by force putting back to Portugal, and they thought that if it became necessary to arrest them for this and bring them before the king, he would have mercy upon them, and should they not find mercy, they preferred rather to die there where their wives and children and fathers were, and in their nativo country, and not in the sea to be eat by the fishes. With such thoughts they all spoke to one another secretly, determining to carry it out, and trusting that the king would not hang them all for the good reasons which they would all give him; or else to secure their lives they would go to Castile until they were pardoned: and this was the greatest insolence they were guilty of; and so they decided upon executing their plan. In taking this decision they did not perceive the danger of death, into

which they were going more than ever. In the ship of Nicolas Coelho there was a sailor who had a brother who lived with Nicolas Coelho, and was foster-brother of a son of his; and the sailor brother told this boy of what they had all determined to do. This boy being very discreet, said to his brother that they should all preserve great secrecy, so as not to be found out, for it was a case of treason, and he warned his brother not to tell any one that he had mentioned such a thing to him. The boy, on account of the affection which he had for his master Nicolas Coelho, discovered the matter to him in secret, and he at once gave the boy a serious warning to be very discreet in this matter, that they should not perceive that he had told him anything of the kind. With the firm determination which Nicolas Coelho at once formed to die sooner than allow himself to be seized upon, he became very vigilant both by day and night, and warned the boy to try to learn with much dissimulation all that they wanted to do, and by what means. The boy told him that they would not do it unless they could first concert with the other ships, so that all should mutiny: at that Nicolas Coelho remained more at ease, but was always very much on his guard for himself. As the storm did not abate, but rather seemed to increase, and as the cries and clamour of the people were very great, beseeching him to put back, Nicolas Coelho dissembled with them, saying: "Brothers, let us strive to save ourselves from this storm, for I promise you that as soon as I can get speech with the captain-major, I will require him to put back, and you will see how I will require it of him." With this they remained satisfied. Some days having passed thus with heavy storms, the Lord was pleased to assuage the tempest a little and the sea grew calm, so that the ships could speak one another: and Nicolas Coelho coming up to speak, shouted to the captain-major that: "It would be well to put about, since every moment they had death before their eyes, and if

they who were captains did not choose to do so, and so many men who went in their company were so piteously begging with tears and cries to put back the ships, and they did not choose to do so, it would be well if they should kill or arrest us, and then they would put back or go where it was convenient to save their lives; which we also ought to do, and if we do not do it, let each one look out for himself, for thus I do for my part, and for my conscience sake, for I would not have to give an account of it to the Lord." Paulo da Gama, who also had come up within speaking distance, heard all this. When they had heard these words of Nicolas Coelho, who, on ending his speech, at once begun to move away, the captain-major answered him that he would hold a consultation with the pilot and his crew, and that whatever he determined to do, he would make a signal to him of his resolution. During this time they lay hove to in the smooth water, because the wind never changed from its former point. Vasco da Gama, as he was very quick-witted, at once understood what Nicolas Coelho's words meant, and called together all the crew, and said to them that he was not so valiant as not to have the fear of death like themselves, neither was he so cruel as not to feel grieved at heart at seeing their tears and lamentations, but that he did not wish to have to give account to God for their lives, and for that reason he begged them to labour for their safety, because if the bad weather came again he had determined to put back, but to disculpate himself with the king, it was incumbent upon him to draw up a document of the reasons for putting back, with their signatures. At this all raised their hands to heaven, saying that its mercy was already descending upon them, since it was softening the heart of the captain-major and inclining him to put back, and they said that all would sign the great service which he would render to God and to the king by putting back. Then the captain-major said that there was no

need of the signatures of all, but only of those who best understood the business of the sea. Then the pilot and master named them, and they were three seamen. Upon this the captain-major retired to his cabin, and told his servants to stand at the door of the cabin, and put inside the clerk to draw up the document, and ordered the three seamen to enter: and dissembling, he made inquiries as to returning to port, and all was written down and they signed it. He then ordered them to go down below to another cabin which he had beneath his own for a store-cabin, and he ordered the clerk to go down also with them, and he summoned the master and pilot and ordered them below also, telling them to go and sign, as the clerk was there. Then he called up the seamen one by one, and ordered them to be put in irons by his servants in his cabin, and heavy irons for the master and pilot. All being well ironed and bound, the captain-major turned them out, and called all the men, ordering the master and pilot at once to give up to him all the articles which they had belonging to the art of navigation, or if not, that he would at once execute them; of which being greatly afraid, they gave everything up to him. Then Vasco da Gama, holding them all in his hand, flung them into the sea, and said—"See here, men, that you have neither master nor pilot, nor any one to show you the way from henceforward, because these men whom I have arrested will return to Portugal below the deck, if they do not die before that," (for he was aware that they had agreed amongst one another to rise up and return by force to Portugal, and on that account had cast everything into the sea), "and I do not require master nor pilot, nor any man who knows the art of navigation, because God alone is the master and pilot who had to guide and deliver them by His mercy if they deserved it, and if not, let His will be done. To Him you must commend yourselves and beg mercy. Henceforward let no one speak to me of putting back, for

know from me of a certainty, that if I do not find information of what I have come to seek, that to Portugal I do not return." Seeing and hearing these things, the crew became much more terrified, and with much greater fear of death, which they held as certain, not having either pilot or master, nor any one who knew how to navigate a ship. Then the prisoners and all the crew on their knees begged him for mercy with loud cries; the prisoners saying that they, being ignorant men and of faint heart, had come to an understanding to put the ship about and return to the king and offer themselves for death, if he chose to give it them, and they would have taken him a prisoner, that the king might see that he was not to blame for putting back; but this was not to have been done, except with the will of all the people of the other ships: but since God had discovered this to him before they had carried it out, let him show them clemency; for well they saw that they deserved death from him, which was more than the chains which they bore. All the crew frequently called out to him for clemency, and not to put the prisoners below the decks, where they would soon die. Then the captain-major, showing that he only did it at their entreaty, and not for any need which he had of them, ordered them to remain in their cabins in the forecastle[1] still in irons, and forbade their giving any directions for the navigation of the ship, except only for the trimming of the sails and the work of the ship. Vasco da Gama then ran alongside of the other ships and spoke them, saying that he had put his pilot and master in irons, in which he would bring them back to the kingdom, if God pleased that they should return there; and that they should not imagine that he had any need of their knowledge, he had flung into the sea all the implements of their art of navigation, because he placed his hopes in God alone, who would direct them and deliver them from the perils amongst

[1] *Chapiteo.*

which they were going: and on that account, since he had now made his men secure, let them secure themselves as they pleased: and without waiting for an answer he sheered off. Nicolas Coelho felt great joy in his heart on hearing from the captain-major that he had got his pilot and master thus secured from rising against him, since he had put them in irons; and with much dissimulation he spoke to his master and pilot and seamen, saying that he was much grieved at the captain-major's way of treating his ship's officers, whom he stood so much in need of in the labours they were undergoing, but what he had done was because of his being of so strong and thorough a temperament, as they all knew, and he had not chosen to wait for them to make entreaty for the liberty of the prisoners, but that whenever the ships again spoke one another he would do it. This all the crew begged him to do, with loud cries of mercy, since they would follow the flagship wherever it went. This Nicolas Coelho promised them, so they remained contented. Paulo da Gama had other conversations with the officers of his ship, with much urbanity, for he was a man of gentle disposition; he also promised them that he would entreat his brother on behalf of the prisoners, and bade all pray God for the saving of their lives, and that all would end well, so that all remained consoled.[1]

[1] Barros says nothing of this repressed mutiny, and Camoens praises the constant obedience of the Portuguese who might have been expected to rebel; yet the Portuguese have more reason to glory in Gaspar Correa's account of Vasco da Gama's struggles, not only with the elements, but also with his faint-hearted crew, than in Camoens' description, which gives him a shipful of heroes.

v, 72.

Crés tu que ja não forão levantados
Contra seu capitão, se os resistira,
Fazendose piratas, obrigados
De desesperação, de fome, & de ira?
Grandemente por certo estão provados,
Pois que nenhum trabalho grande os tira
Daquelle Portuguesa alta excellencia,
De lealdade firme, & obediencia.

CHAPTER X.

How the ships entered a beautiful river, in which they refitted the two ships and burned the other, and they named this river the River of Mercy.

WHILST these things were happening the wind did not shift its direction, but the sea being smoother the ships were more easy, though they let in so much water that they never left off pumping. The captain-major saw this, and that the ships had an absolute need of repairs; and also because they had no more water to drink, because, with the tossing about in the storm, many barrels had broken and given way under such great pressure, he stood in to land under sail, for the weather was moderate and was beginning to be

Think'st thou, they had not risen long ago
Against their gen'rall (cross to their desire)
Turning freebooters, forced to be so
By black despair, by hunger, and by ire?
If ever men were try'de, these are: since no
Fatigue, no suff'rings, were of force, to tyre
Their great and Lusitanian excellence
Of loyalty, and firm obedience.

Fanshaw.

Osorio, however, mentions the mutiny and its repression, only he describes it as occurring before the Cape was doubled: he says—

"As often as there was some diminution of the storm, the crews, half dead with fear, pressed round Gama, and prayed and conjured him not to extinguish by such a dreadful death both himself and the men committed to his charge, for the waves could not be resisted much longer; and they prayed him to yield to the tempest and to suffer the fleet to be taken back to their country before it was sunk in the waves. When he, with a constant mind, rejected their demands, several conspired together to kill him. Gama, who learned this from the information of his brother Paul, avoided these snares by the greatest vigilance, and put the pilots in chains, and he himself performed the duty of the chief pilot."

favourable:[1] all were praying to God for mercy, and that He would grant them a haven of safety. Which God was pleased to do in His mercy, for presently He showed them land,[2] at which it seemed that all were resuscitated from the death which they looked upon as certain if the ships were not repaired. After that the wind came free, and they sailed along the land for several days without finding where to put in; this was now in January of the year 1498. Thus they ran close to the land, with a careful look out, for they did not dare to leave the land, from the great peril in which the ships were from the great leakage. Proceeding in this way, one day they found themselves at dawn in the mouth of a large river,[3] into which the captain-major entered, for he always went first; and all entered, and found within a large bay sheltered from all winds, in which they anchored,

[1] Forão na volta da terra dando as velas per o tempo ser brando e hia largando: todos pedindo a Deos misericordia. The printed edition has a different punctuation, and has altered *todos*, which all the MSS. have, to *todas* referring to the sails: this would require *hia* to be in the plural.

[2] Barros says that, after the storm, they reached what are now named Ilheos Chãos, Low Islands, five leagues further on than the island of Cruz, where Bartholomew Dias set up his land-mark: in these parts, by reason of the strong currents, they sometimes advanced, at others lost way, until Christmas Day (*Natal*), they passed the coast of Natal, to which they gave this name.

[3] This river will be the one to which Barros gives the name of *dos Reys*, because they arrived there on the twelfth day; and some, he says, call it *do cobre*, of copper, because of the barter of copper bracelets with the Negroes. Castanheda says: continuing their voyage (after the storm), they sighted land seventy leagues more to the eastward on Christmas Day; they then stood out to sea and suffered much from want of water, and on a Thursday, the 10th of January, the boats went along the shore, and Martin Afonso, the interpreter, was sent ashore and well received. Here Gama remained five days, and the watering-place was named Agoada de Boa gente, and the river Rio do Cobre from the copper which the Negroes bartered for shirts. Gama left on the 15th January, and sailed along the coast till the 24th, when he anchored in the mouth of a great river, which they named Dos bons sinaes. Damian de Goes gives a similar account, only he states the arrival at the rio Dos bons sinaes as happening on the 25th January, St. Paul's Conversion.

and all exclaimed three times—"The mercy of the Lord God!" for which reason they gave this river the name of the River of Mercy. Here they soon caught much good fish, with which the sick improved, as it was fresh food, and the water of the river was very good. Now, at this time, in all the ships there were not more than a hundred and fifty men, for all the rest had died. Soon after arriving at this place the captain-major went to see his brother and Nicolas Coelho, and they conversed, relating their hardships; and Nicolas Coelho related the treason which his men were preparing, to take him prisoner and return to Portugal, and they did not do it from the fear they had that the captain-major would follow after them, and if he caught them would have hung them all; and they only waited for all to agree together to mutiny; and he had sought those feigned words which he had spoken, and it had pleased God that Vasco da Gama had understood them, so that by his imprisoning his officers at once all had remained secure. So all gave praise to the Lord for having delivered them from such great perils. Then they settled about refitting the ships, for they had all that was necessary for doing it. Although they had a beach and tides for laying the ships aground, for greater security it was ordered that they should be heeled over whilst afloat, and thus it was arranged for by all of them. While they were on the quarter-deck, Paulo da Gama entreated his brother to set the prisoners at liberty, which he did, setting free the sailors, and the master and pilot, with the condition that, if God should bring them back to Lisbon, when he went before the king he would present them to him in the same manner in chains, not to do them any harm, but only that his difficulties might be credited, and that for this he would give him greater favours: at which all the crews felt much satisfaction. Afterwards they spoke with all the officers, and arranged for careening the ships, and went to look at them.

They found that there was no repairing the ship of Nicolas Coelho, as it had many of the ribs and knees broken. For that reason they at once decided to break it up:[1] and then they cut out its masts, and much timber and planks of the upper works, which, with the yards and spars of the other ships lashed together and fastened, made a great frame, which they put under the side of the ship to raise it more out of the water: for this purpose they then discharged from the captain-major's ship into that of his brother, which was brought alongside, all that they could of the stores and goods; and everything heavy below decks they put on one side of the ship, which caused it to heel over very much, and with the timber under the side, and the tackle fitted to the main-mast, they canted the ship over on one side so much that they laid her keel bare; and on the outer side they put planks upon which all the crew got to work at the ship, some cleaning the planks from the growth of seaweed, others extracting the caulking, which was quite rotten, from the seams; and the caulkers put in fresh oakum and then pitched it over, for they had a stove in a boat where they boiled the pitch. The captains were occupied with their own work day and night, and gave much food and drink to the crews, so that they used such dispatch, that in one day and one night, by morning they had finished one side of the ship, very well executed, though with great labour in drawing out the water from the ship, which leaked very much lying thus on one side. When she was upright, they turned her over on the other side, and did the same work much better performed, because the ship did not leak so much; and

[1] Barros mentions careening the ships, but nothing of breaking up the ship of Nicolas Coelho; on the contrary, he says later that that ship being the smallest, led the way along the coast. Goes says they heeled the ships over and careened them, and passed thirty-two days here. Castanheda says the same, only he says they beached the ships (tirar os navios a monte).

when it was completed and the ship npright, it was so sound and watertight that for two[1] days there was no water in the pnmp. Then they loaded it again with its stores, and transhipped to it the stores of the other ship, npon which they executed the before-mentioned caulking and repairs, so that it became like new. They then fitted them inside with several knees, and ribs, and inner planking, and all that was requisite, with great perfection, and collected the yards, spars, and all that they had need of belonging to the ship *San Miguel*; and the captain-major took Nicolas Coelho on board of his ship, entertaining him well. They then took away from the ship much wood for their nse, and beached the ship, and took away its rudder, and undid it, and stowed away its wood and iron-works, in case of its being wanted for the other ships, because they had all been built of the same pattern and size, as a precaution that all might be able to take advantage of any part of them. Then they burned the ship in order to recover the nails, which were in great quantity, and a great advantage for other necessities which they met with later. After they had thus repaired the ships, the captain-major sent Nicholas Coelho with twenty men in a boat to go and discover the river: and he, after ascending it for two leagues, found woods and verdure, and further on he found some canoes which were fishing, and the men in them were dark, bnt not very black; they were naked, having only their middles covered with leaves of trees or grass. These men, when they saw the boat, came to it, and entered it in a brutish manner, and were in a state of amazement. No one knew how to speak to them, and they did not understand the signs which were made to them. So Nicolas Coelho made them go back to their canoes, and returned to the ships, but of the canoes one followed after the boat, and the others returned to take the news to their villages. These men who came with the boat, at once, without any fear, entered the ship and sat

[1] The Lisbon edition has ten days.

down to rest, as if they were old acquaintance; no one knew how to speak to them. Then they gave them biscuit and cakes and slices of bread with marmalade: this they did not understand until they saw our people eat, then they ate it, and as they liked the taste, they ate in a great hurry, and wonld not share with one another. Whilst this was going on they saw many canoes coming, and larger ones, with many of those people also naked, with tangled hair like Cafres,[1] without any other arms than some sticks like half lances, hardened in the fire with sharp points greased over. The captain-major, seeing the other canoes coming, ordered the first come to go to their canoe, which they did unwillingly, and went ont and remained to speak with those that were arriving and went their way. The others arrived, and all wanted to come on board; as they were more than a hundred, the captain-major would not allow them, only ten or twelve, who brought some birds which were something like hens, and some yellow fruit of the size of walnuts, a very well tasted thing to eat, which our men would not touch, and they seeing that, ate them for our people to see, who, on tasting them, were much pleased with them: they killed one of the birds, and found it very tender and savoury to eat, and all its bones were like those of a fowl. The captain-major ordered biscuit and wine to be given them, which they would not tonch till they saw our people drink. He also ordered a looking-glass to be given them; when they saw it they were much amazed, and looked at one another, and again looked at the mirror, and laughed loudly and made jokes, and spoke to the others who were in the canoes. They went away with

[1] Cafre here means a negro, and from the use of the word before, page 8, with reference to Benin, it appears that the Portuguese got the name from the Arabs of the west coast of Africa, and that the name was applied to the nation we call Kaffirs by the Portuguese, and not by the Arabs, as is usually supposed.

the looking-glass highly delighted, and left six birds and much of the fruit, and all went away; and in the afternoon they came again, but bringing a quantity of those birds, at which our men rejoiced very much, and filled hen-coops with them, because they gave them and were satisfied with anything that was given them, especially white stuffs; so that the seamen cut their shirts in pieces, with which they bought so many of these birds that they killed and dried them in the sun, and they kept very well. Here it was observed that in this river there were no flies, for they never saw any all the time they were there, which was twenty days; and they went away because the crew began to fall ill. It seems that it was from that fruit which was very delicious to eat;[1] and the principal ailment was that

[1] Barros describes this sickness, and says that it happened during the stay of the ships for a month to careen and repair, but he places the refitting of the ships in February in the river of *Bons Sinaes*, north of Cabo de Correntes and of Sofala, instead of in January in the river of *Misericordia* of Correa, which must be the same as Barros' river *dos Reys* (Twelfth Day), since Correa says "it was now January" just before they entered the river of Misericordia. Barros says of the sickness—"The greater part of the sickness was erysipelas, and the so great growth of the flesh of their gums, that it would hardly be contained in the men's mouths, and as it grew it rotted, and they cut into it like into dead flesh: a very pitiable thing to see; which sickness they afterwards came to know proceeded from the salt meat and fish, and biscuit spoiled by long time." This is probably the first occurrence or mention of the scurvy at sea. Camoens, as usual following Barros, places these events at the same time and place.

Canto v, 79.

Aqui de limos, cascas, & de ostrinhas,
Nojosa criação das agoas fundas,
Alimpamos as naos, que dos caminhos
Longos do mar, vem sordidas, & imundas:
Dos hospedes, que tinhamos visinhos,
Com mostras aprasiveis, & jocundas
Houvemos sempre o usado mantimento,
Limpos de todo o falso pensamento.

their gums swelled and rotted, so that their teeth fell out, and there was such a foul smell from the mouth that no one could endure it. The captain-major provided a remedy for this, for he ordered that each one should wash his mouth with his own water each time that he passed it, by doing which in a few days they obtained health.[1] The captain-major made a hole

[1] The prejudice that this is a remedy or a prophylactic is very ancient in the Peninsula: Strabo, lib. iii, 164, and Diodorus Siculus, v, 22, mention that the Celtiberians thus washed their teeth. Apuleius and Catullus are said also to mention this usage. The prejudice still survives, and I have been informed that it is still resorted to on board slavers on the west coast of Africa.

81.

E foi, que de doença crua, & fea,
A mais, qne en nunca vi, desamparârão
Muitos a vida, & em terra estranha, & alhea
Os ossos para sempre sepultârão:
Quem havera que sem o ver o crea?
Que taõ disformemente alli lhe inchâraõ
As gengivas na boca, que crecia
A carne, & jnntamente apodrecia.

82.

Apodrecia cum fetido & bruto
Cheiro, que o ar visinho inficionava,
Não tinhamos alli medico astnto,
Cirurgião subtil menos se achava;
Mas qualquer neste officio pouco instruto
Pella carne, ja podre assi cortava,
Como se fora morta, & bem convinha,
Pois qne morto, ficava quem a tinha.

79.

Here we careen'd our ships, and much the need
That hulls so long afloat, defiled and rongh
With sordid slime and barnacles and weed,
Should cast their cumbrous sea-engender'd slough.
And here the blameless Ethiops—hosts indeed,
Who thought no kindness short of all enough—
Supplied our every want with ready smile;
And men they were in whom we found no guile.

with pickaxes in a stone slab at the entrance of this river, and set up a marble pillar, of which he had brought many for that purpose, which had two escutcheons, one of the arms of Portugal, and another on the other side, of the sphere, and letters engraved in the stone which said: "Of the lordship of Portugal, kingdom of Christians."[1] The captain-major, seeing how much the seamen and masters and pilots worked, especially his own, notwithstanding the imprisonment which he had inflicted upon them, when he was about to quit this river of Mercy, made them all come to his ship, where he addressed them all, beseeching them

[1] Barros says that after careening the ships—"With the assistance of the people of the country he put a landmark with the name of San Rafael, of those which he brought with him for this discovery."

81.

Disease assail'd my crews,—such fell disease,
And loathsome, as till then I ne'er beheld—
Who would believe, that saw not, how in these
The livid gums with growth prodigious swell'd,
Breathing infection that depraved the breeze?
Alas, how many a gallant life was quell'd,
How many a proud and noble form laid low
On yonder shore, and by so vile a foe!

82.

The air was sicken'd by the noisomeness
That reek'd from this malignity obscure.
Astute physician had we none, still less
Chirurgeon subtle to resolve the cure;
Whoso applied him to the task, by guess,
Cut out, as if 'twere dead, the flesh impure:
Not without reason, whatsoe'er the skill,
For unextirpated, 'twas sure to kill.

Quillinan.

Castanheda gives a similar description of the sickness and mortality, which he says "would have been much greater had it not been for the good disposition of Paulo da Gama, who visited the sick night and day, and comforted and tended them, and divided liberally amongst them those things for the use of the sick which he had brought for his own use."

not to suffer weakness to enter their hearts, which would induce them to wish to commit another such error, by harbouring thoughts of treason, which is so hideous before God, and always brings a bad end to those who engage in it: he said that he well saw that faintheartedness was the cause of what had passed, and that he forgave all. And that since the Lord had been pleased to deliver them from so many dangers as they had passed up to that time, by His great mercy, therefore they should put their trust in Him, who would conduct them in such manner as to obtain the result which they were going in search of; by which they would gain such great honours and favours as the king would grant them on their return to Portugal; and he would present them to the king, and would relate their great labours and services, and that they ought to bear in remembrance these great advantages, which would be such a cause of rejoicing for all of them. They, with tears of joy, all answered, Amen, Amen, may the Lord so will it of His great mercy. And they weighed anchors and went out of the river with a land breeze.[1]

[1] Barros says they left the river where they careened the ships, and which he names *de Bons Sinaes*, on the 24th of February, 1498, and he says they met here with two great dangers; one was that Vasco da Gama was in a small boat with two sailors speaking to his brother on board his ship, and holding on to the main chains, when the water fell so suddenly that it carried away the boat from under them, and he and the sailors only escaped by holding fast to the chains until they came to their assistance. The other danger happened to this same ship the day it went out of the river; crossing the bar it stuck on a sandbank, and was likely to remain for ever, but the tide rising it escaped the danger. Castanheda, Osorio, and Goes say Gama left this river on Saturday, 24th of February, and on the afternoon of Thursday the 1st of March they saw the four islands of Mozambique.

CHAPTER XI.

How the two ships left the river of Mercy, and ran along the coast to Mozambique, and of what they found and did before they arrived there.

Vasco da Gama made that caressing speech to the crews from apprehension that some of them might run away on finding some country with which they might be satisfied, in which case it would be the most certain perdition that might be. And he was fearful of the vagabonds whom he brought with him, because he had begged the king to order some men who had been condemned to death to be given to him, in order to risk them in sending them ashore in certain countries of doubtful safety; in which also, and wherever it was expedient, he would leave them, as he might greatly benefit by what they learned when he found them later. The king had highly approved of this, and had commanded to put six such men on board each ship, of whom some were already dead. Then, with the favourable wind which they had, and the ships well repaired, they sailed with much satisfaction along the coast, with a good look-out by day and night. Running in this manner, they sighted a sail, which was making from the sea to the land: at which they felt great satisfaction, and gave great thanks to the Lord for having brought them into a region of navigation. The ships at once made after the sail, which, on seeing our ships, fled to seawards, and our people lost sight of it at night, at which they were very sad, and continned on their course as they saw it no more. Running along the coast, as close in to land as they conld, on passing a point they saw a large creek, and then alongside the point they saw a zambuk at anchor. Vasco da Gama, on

seeing it, hove to, and quickly ordered men to go in a boat with sails and oars after a canoe which was leaving the zambuk and escaping to shore. They soon overtook it, upon which six cafres who were in it threw themselves into the sea, and there remained in it one Moor, who did not take to flight because he could not swim: he was dressed in a shirt of white stuff, with a silk girdle, and a coloured cloth folded on his shoulders, with which he covered himself, and on his head a round cap, which did not cover his ears, made of many squares of silk of various colours sewn with gold thread, and small gold rings in his ears. Our men took him into their boat and went to the zambuk, and found nothing, because the Moor had got to freight it and embark in it much property which he had on shore, in the possession of a great merchant, of whom this Moor was the agent. So they returned to the ship with great satisfaction at having found a man of whom they could ask questions and learn in what country they were; and at once they set sail and went their way. The Moor was well entertained, but in speaking to him no one understood him, for there was no other interpreter than an African slave,[1] who spoke Arabic to him, of which the Moor understood few words. He told us by signs that further on there were people who knew that speech. The captain-

[1] Barros says there was a sailor named Fernan Martins who spoke Arabic to some of the Negroes who understood it at the river of Bons Sinaes, some of whom were less dark than the others, and seemed to be of mixed Arab blood.

Camoens, Canto v, 76.

Ethiopes são todos, mas parece,
Que com gente melhor communicavão,
Palavra alguma Arabia se conhece,
Entre a linguagem sua, que fallavão:
E com pano delgado, que se tece
De algodão, as cabeças apertavão,
Com outro, que de tinta azul se tinge,
Cada hum as vergonhosas partes cinge.

major ordered them to give him to eat cakes of sugar and olives, and to give him wine. He ate of everything, but would not drink the wine. Then Vasco da Gama gave him a long robe to cover him, and he was like one amazed looking at what he had never seen before. The captain-

77.

Pella Arabica lingua, que mal fallão,
E que Fernão Martinz mui bem entende,
Nos dizem, que por naos, que estas igualão
Na grandeza, o seu mar se corta, & fende:
Mas que lá donde sae o sol se abalão
Para onde a costa ao sul se alarga, & estende,
E do sul para o sol, terra onde havia
Gente assi como nós da cor do dia.

78.

Mui grandemente aqui nos alegramos,
Co a gente, & co as novas muito mais,
Pellos sinaes, que neste rio achamos,
O nome lhe ficou dos bons sinais:
Hum padrão nesta terra levantamos,
(Que para assinalar lugares tais
Trazia alguns) o nome tem do bello
Guiador de Tobias à Gabello.

Canto v, 76.

All Ethiopians are they, but it seems
That they commune with some superior race;
For in their speech intelligible gleams
Of meaning, phrases Arabic, we trace;
The snow-white turban on the brow redeems
The wild expression of the Caffre face;
A light blue kilt that half invests the frame
Bespeaks them civilised to sense of shame.

77.

In tongue Arabian, which though ill they speak,
Yet well interprets Fernan Martinez,
They say that ships as long from stern to beak
As ours, are wont to navigate their seas;
That they go forth from eastern shores to seek
The coasts that southward broaden, and from these
Back towards the birthplace of the sun they sail
Unto a land of men, like us, of feature pale.

major felt great satisfaction in his heart with this Moor whom they had brought, and by his demeanour he seemed to be an honourable man, and he made him welcome, and ordered them to give him very good food; and speaking to him by means of signs, he showed him spices, and the Moor said that he would fill his ships with them. The Moor, as indeed he was a broker, and gained his livelihood thereby, soon desired to make himself broker of our people, because by loading our ships he would make much profit; and he would form good friendship with our people and provide for them, and conduct them to Cambay, of which he was a native, where he would make much profit: and with these reflections he showed much satisfaction at going with them. Navigating thus for some days, they came in sight of the shoals and bank of Sofala, and the Moor by signs had told them to be on the watch for them; and the captain-major rejoiced greatly at finding that truth and sincerity in the Moor: and they stood out to sea until they had passed them, and they did not see the river of Sofala, for it seems they passed it by night, although the Moor tried to tell them with his signs, and they did not understand. Having passed the bank they returned towards the shore, continuing their voyage; and going on thus they sighted a sail ahead, which was also going along the coast, at which all were much pleased. Then the captain-major edged out to sea, so that the sail might not escape in that

78.

Our new-found friends rejoiced us much; yet more
Their news: the stream of augury so fair,
We named the river of Good Signs; the shore
Demanded our commemorative care,
And of memorials that from home we bore
For special landmarks, one we planted there,
Calling it after that Angelic Guide
Who led Tobias to his unknown bride.

Quillinan.

direction. That ship did not alter its course, and our people soon overhauled it, and hove to and sent a boat to it, into which two cafres entered, whom they brought to the captain-major, at which the Moor rejoiced, for they were from Mozambique: with these men they obtained speech by means of a cafre of Guiné, who was with Paulo da Gama, and the boat went to fetch him, and brought him, and he spoke with the cafres, and they understood each other well, at which there was much satisfaction.[1] The sambuk was laden with pigeons' dung, which there was in some islands, and they were transporting it, as it was merchandise in Cambay with which they dyed stuffs. The captain-major ordered them to give biscuit and salt fish and wine to the cafres, which they eat and drank with much pleasure. Then the Moor, by the speech of the cafre, and with the two cafres whom he communicated with in another language, said to the captain-major that further on they would find a place in which there were many people and much trade, where he would conduct them, and give them all that they required, because his office was to be a broker, and he knew about all sorts of merchandise, and would take him to his country, Cambay, where he would load the ships with as much drugs and spices as they desired; for Cambay was a very rich country, and the greatest kingdom in the world. To which the captain-major replied with many thanks, and swore to him by the life of the king his sovereign that he would so well pay him for his work that he should for ever esteem himself very fortunate in having come into his company. Then the Moor told him to order a good look out to be kept upon the sambuk, which would guide them by a safe road amongst the many shoals there were, because it always sailed in those parts, and knew

[1] This, and other passages of the early Portuguese writers, seem to indicate that the language of Congo formerly extended from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.

them all. This seemed good to the captain-major, and he ordered four of his men to go in the sambuk, and six of the cafres to be brought to the ship, and ordered them to keep a strict watch by night, and if they saw any shoals, to point them out to the cafres, and that they should let themselves be guided wherever they chose; and that they should always show a light with the lantern which was given them. With this order they navigated astern of the sambuk, which carried sails of matting, with which it sailed more than the ships. Thus they navigated more than twenty days, when they arrived at Mozambique, which was at the end of March of 1498.[1]

CHAPTER XII.

How the ships arrived at Mozambique, and what happened to them there.

On arriving at Mozambique, which is subject to the King of Quiloa, they came to three islands, which are outside of it; Vasco da Gama sent his pilot in a boat to follow the sambuk and take soundings of the entrance of the port: and taking in the large sails, they entered the port under foresails and mizens, astern of the sambuk; there they found a good bottom and the roadstead sheltered from the sea winds.[2] They saw on shore a large town of houses

[1] Barros says that they arrived at Mozambique in five days from the river of Bons Sinaes, which they left on the 24th of February. Castanheda and Goes give the same time; Castanheda says Coelho saw the Sambuks on the 2nd of March, the day after they sighted the Mozambique islands.

[2] Barros gives a rather different account: he says the Portuguese anchored at some islands more than a league out at sea, at one of them which was named S. Jorge from a landmark which Vasco da Gama set up there. The sheikh, he says, was named Zacoeja; and a Moor who

covered with thatch; so that our men gave great thanks to the Lord for having brought them into port where they

came off to inquire who were the Portuguese, was (as was known later) of the kingdom of Fez. During ten days that Da Gama was at S. Jorge he established peace with the sheikh, and set up the landmark in sign of it, and said mass on the island, as it was Lent. During this time there came, among the Moors who brought provisions, three Abyssinians of the country of Prester John; these, on seeing the image of the angel Gabriel painted on the ship of that name, as they were accustomed to images of the angels in their own churches, knelt down and worshipped. When the captain-major knew that they were Abyssinians, he questioned them through the interpreter Fernan Martins. The Moors, who saw how pleased the captain was to speak to them, got them away quickly, and hid them away so that Da Gama could not see them again. The sheikh then sent two pilots, with whom the captain-major was satisfied, and agreed to give them each thirty mithcals of gold, weight of the country, which might be about fourteen thousand of our reis, and besides a scarlet jacket. Two days after this agreement, Da Gama sent two boats to fetch wood and water, which the negroes of the country used to bring to the beach for a reward: while they were taking this in, suddenly seven sambuks full of people armed in their fashion came to them, and with shouts began to discharge arrows, which the Portuguese returned with crossbows and musketry. With this breach of the peace no more boats came to the ships. (Barros says nothing of the visit of the sheikh to the ships described by Correa, Osorio mentions it; and Camoens follows Osorio in his description of the visit, in Canto I, 59-72). After this skirmish Vasco da Gama weighed from the position he had taken before the town, and went on Sunday, March 11, to S. Jorge Island (Damian de Goes and Castanheda say on Tuesday the 13th), and, after hearing mass, sailed for India, taking one of the pilots, as the other was on shore at the time of the rupture. But, on account of the strong currents, at the end of four days' navigation, they found themselves four or five leagues on this side of Mozambique. Vasco da Gama, seeing that he must wait for a more favourable wind to force his way against the currents, which change, according to the Moorish pilot, would be with the next new moon, went to anchor at the island S. Jorge (Castanheda says he returned there on Thursday the 14th), from which he would depart without communicating with Mozambique. But as the water was getting short, and six or seven days had passed since he arrived, by the advice of the Moorish pilot, who said he could take the people at night to a watering place, he sent with him two armed boats. Either that the Moor wished to escape from the Portuguese by taking many turns about the coast, or that really he

could now see houses and people. Having thus arrived, the captain-major went to his brother's ship to tell him to

became confused from its being night, in a thicket of mangroves, he never could find the wells he had spoken of; which obliged Da Gama to send two well armed boats to fetch water in spite of the negroes who came to prevent their taking water. And as the Moorish pilot and a negro ship-boy ran away during this expedition, next day Vasco da Gama went in arms before the town, where two thousand men were drawn up on the beach: Vasco da Gama made a signal of peace, and the Moor who went with messages came up, when Da Gama complained of what they had done, and demanded that the negro who had run away should be given up, and also the pilots, who had received pay for this navigation, and that he would be satisfied with that. The Moor said he would come back with the answer, which was that the sheikh was much scandalised at the Portuguese because, when the negroes had wished to play with them in a festival manner, according to their custom, at the time when they went to fetch water, the Portuguese had attacked them, killing and wounding some, and that they had sunk a sambuk with its goods; that as to the pilots, he knew nothing of them, as they were foreigners, and if they owed Da Gama anything, he might send on shore to seek for them; that for him it was enough that he had sent them already once, and that at a time when he seemed with his men to be safe people who spoke truth, but that at present he understood that they were vagabonds who went about plundering seaports. At the end of these words, without waiting for a further answer, the Moor went back to the sheikh; and a shout arose on shore, and they began to rain arrows, and boats approached to do better execution; as they had not yet experienced the fury of our artillery, and with the first shots, which Da Gama ordered to be fired, he so chastised them, that they passed over behind the island to the mainland, and in that channel the Portuguese took a sambuk, all the crew of which, except an old Moor and two negroes, escaped. When the town was thus abandoned, though Da Gama might have burned it, as it was his intention to frighten them so as to get the pilots, he would do no more injury that time, and four or five men had been laid dead at the feet of the sheikh by the artillery, which was the cause of their having run away. Returning to the ships, Da Gama learned, by questions put to the Moor with torture, the cause of their running away, and also about the gold trade with Sofala, and that from there to Calecut was a month's voyage, as he had heard say. On hearing this, Da Gama was much pleased, as this was the most positive news he had yet heard, and before the sheikh could guard the wells, he sent boats that night for water, with the Moorish prisoner, and they returned when it was already day-

enter the port with the standard at his peak, which he accordingly did: they there conversed, and Vasco da Gama gave him an account of the good words he had heard from the Moor, and all that he had told him. He then bade them take the cafres to the sambuk, and they went away much pleased with pieces of white stuff which were given them, and they brought back the sailors who were on

light. The sheikh feared that if he refused what the Portuguese demanded, they would come and burn his town and vessels, and he sent next day to ask for peace from Vasco da Gama: and as to the pilots who had lighted up this fire, one of them had fled to the interior, fearing the punishment that might be given him, and the other was chastised for ever, as he had been killed by the artillery; that the jackets and what else they had, had been taken from their wives, and he sent these things herewith to Da Gama, and instead of those men another pilot, who would serve him better. Vasco da Gama seeing there was not much time for negotiation, and that a pilot suited him better than any other amends, accepted the pilot with suitable words, and ordered the jackets and other goods to be taken back to the sheikh to do what he pleased with: and he set at liberty the Moor and negroes of the country, clothed to their satisfaction. The following day he went back to the island of S. Jorge, where he remained three days waiting for weather until the 1st of April, when he left, taking with him rather a mortal enemy than a pilot. For he, either from the hatred he felt for us, or because the sheikh had so commanded him, brought the ships amongst some small islands, saying they were a point of the mainland. For which lie he was well flogged, from which the islands retained the name of Islands of the Azoutado, which they now bear among our people: they may be about sixty leagues beyond Mozambique. Castanheda also names the 1st of April as the date of the final departure from Mozambique. Castanheda's account is the most unfavourable to the conduct of the Portuguese, for he describes them as opening fire with cannon on the people in the Mozambique boats when, on the first arrival of the Portuguese, they were making signs to them to come into the port: he then relates a fight at the watering place, and after that two bombardments of the town, one on the 25th, Sunday, and another on the 26th, Monday; on the 27th they went back to the island of S. Jorge. Camoens describes the skirmish at the watering place and subsequent hostilities, Canto I, 84-95, much in the same manner as Barros; Osorio mentions the affray with the seven sambuks, but says nothing of any further hostilities.

board the sambuk. The cafres went to the shore, where many people collected on the beach to question them, and in a short time they returned to the ship in a canoe, with cocoa-nuts and two hens, which they gave to the captain-major, and begged of him some biscuit and wine to take on shore, which he ordered to be given them, and they returned ashore well satisfied. Then they spoke to the Moor, whose name was Davané, and gave him a scarlet cap and a string of small coral beads, and told him to go on shore, and assist them as foreign men who came as wanderers from a very distant country. The Moor went ashore, and Nicolas Coelho carried him in his boat, which went until he jumped into the water, and then returned to the ship. The Moor was surrounded by very many people, and so he went to the house of the Sheikh, who is the captain of the country on behalf of the King of Quiloa, and who was in this town as agent collecting the duties from the merchant ships, which are many in number, and come from many countries, with much goods of various kinds which they trade with in this town of Mozambique, and they pay large duties; and with these goods they go along the coast, and up many rivers which they find, in which they effect much barter of silver and gold, ivory and wax; especially in Sofala, where they carry on extensive barter of the gold which is in that country, in which these merchants trade; and they are almost all of them Moors, and being thus traders, on account of their extensive commerce they remain like natives of the country; and the greater number of the kings and rulers of all these countries are Moors of the sect of Mahomed. The Moor, on speaking to the Sheikh, gave him an account of all that had happened to him with our people up to that time, and that they were making their voyage to Cambay to ship pepper and drugs. The Sheikh inquired much of him as to whether our men were Turks, because he knew that they were white men,

and that they had ships of another fashion, and not like those of India. The Moor assured him that they were not Moors, and that it was asserted that they were Christians. This the Sheikh did not rely upon, and he desired to visit our people in person, and told the Moor to return to the captains and ask them if they were willing that he should come to see them: and he sent them fowls and cocoa-nuts, and figs, and a sheep. The Moor had there a pagan, a native of the country, whom he knew from the many times that he came to Mozambique, and he used to lodge in his house, and this man had a boy who spoke very well the language of the Cafres, who are the natives of the country, and he took this boy with him to the ship to interpret. And with these delays he did not return to the ship till late, when the captains rejoiced very much on seeing him come back with refreshments, which was a proof of good faith. On speaking with him, and hearing the message of the Sheikh, they were much pleased, since the principal reason of their coming was to discover new countries, and establish good terms of peace and amity. Therefore they told the Moor that they would be very glad to see the Sheikh, because they were men who were going about as lost amongst countries which they did not know, and that they would be glad to hold friendship and peace with all peoples, and to buy and sell whatever might satisfy them; and that the principal article which they would desire to buy was drugs, which were a merchandise which would not spoil however much it remained at sea. Upon which the Moor Davane returned next day to the Sheikh. He, on hearing the reply of our people, was pleased, as also with the further information which the Moor related to him. In the afternoon the Sheikh came to the ship in two canoes lashed together, and upon them poles and planks, covered over with mats which gave shade: in this came ten Moors sitting down, and the Sheikh sitting on a low round stool,

covered with a silk cloth, and a cushion on which he sat; he was a dark man, well-made, and of good presence, and was dressed in a jacket of Mekkah velvet with many plaits, and a blue cloth with braid and gold thread, wrapped round him, which covered him to the knees, and drawers of white stuff down to the ankles, and the body bare; above the cloth wrapped round him was a silk sash, in which he wore a dagger mounted with silver, and in his hand a sword, also mounted with silver. On his head he wore a turban of silk stuff of many colours, with braid and fringes of gold thread, wrapped round a dark coloured skull-cap of Mekkah velvet. The Moors who came with him were dressed in the same fashion; they were fair men, and dark men, and others swarthy, because they were sons of Cafre women of the country and white Moorish merchants who since a long time have established their commerce throughout all the countries of India, so that they have remained as natives. The captains dressed themselves, and placed chairs on the quarter-deck, and a bench with a carpet on it for the Moors to sit upon: and when they arrived at the ship they sounded the trumpets for them, and they were much pleased to hear them. When the Sheikh entered, many of the sailors assisted him to ascend on board, and the captains received him at the entrance of the quarter-deck with great salutations. The Moorish Sheikh took the right hand of Paulo da Gama and pressed it between both of his, and raised it to his breast, which is a mark of great courtesy, and they sat down on the chairs, the Sheikh in the middle, and the Moors on the bench. The Moor Davané was standing, and with his interpreter spoke what was said. The Sheikh was looking all round, seeing things which he had never seen, and said that he was very fortunate that they had come to his port, and that he would be happy to do for them all that they required on account of the great pleasure which he felt in seeing that

which he had never seen before, and as they were foreign merchants he should be very glad to know from what country they were, and what they had come in search of. Vasco da Gama, taking off his cap and making a bow to his brother, as though he begged his leave to speak, replied that they were from another country, and servants of the greatest king of Christians that existed in the world, and they had set out in a great fleet, which his King had sent to another country to seek for merchandise, such as he would show him, and whilst proceeding on their voyage they had separated from their companions in a storm, and two years had passed that they were going about the sea as lost men, for their pilots did not know that land to which they were going for cargo. The Sheikh said: "And if you do not find that country what will you do?" They replied that they would go abont the sea nntil they died, because if they returned before their King without bringing him what they had come to seek, he would cut off their heads. The Sheikh told them to show him the merchandise which they were going in search of. Then they showed him pepper, cinnamon, and ginger. The Sheikh, on seeing it, laughed to his own people, and answered that they shonld be satisfied, since he would give them pilots who would conduct them whither they could fill their ships as much as they pleased; but what merchandise did they bring for the purchase of what they wanted. Vasco da Gama replied that the merchandise went in the other ships, bnt that they had gold and silver for buying and selling. The Sheikh said that with gold and silver they would obtain what they sought all over the world: and he asked him to order the trumpets to sonnd, as they very much liked to hear them; and thus he took leave of him, saying that he would at once send him the pilots who would serve him well; upon which they separated with many courtesies and salutations. The Moor Davané remained on board: then the captain-

major gave him a present to carry to the Sheikh, five ells of fine scarlet cloth, and five of satin, and two scarlet caps, four sheaths of knives made in Flanders, very handsome, and a mirror; and he also bade him beg pardon for the present not being as much as he would have desired it to have been. And he sent twenty cruzados in gold and twenty testoons in silver for the *malemos*[1] who were the pilots, for of those coins he would give each month whatever he should direct. The Moor Davané remained amazed when he heard the things which our people said, and was filled with a great desire never to separate from our men until[2] they should return to their own country. Then he went on shore with the present, which he gave to the sheikh, who was much pleased with it; and he told the sheikh that the captain-major besought him very much to send him pilots; in which matter the sheikh showed good will and readiness, and found them and spoke with them, arranging that each of them should be paid four cruzados of gold, and should have good quarters in which to carry his provisions; on which account half the money, two cruzados and two testoons, were given at once to each of the pilots, whom the Moor brought at once to the ship with his bundle, at which the captain-major was much pleased. The Moor then returned on shore, for they sent him to buy cows and sheep, and whatever he could find to eat. The Moor said that he would look about and bring whatever he could find, but that in this country there was nothing but maize, which they eat boiled with fish, and that the sheep came from other places outside, and that they would find them further on along the coast, and that there were no cows, but he would bring what he found: upon which he went ashore in

[1] This word is perhaps the Arabic for an instructor, a word in general use all over Africa.

[2] This is probably the same man who, according to Osorio, Goes, and Castanheda, came with his son and offered to pilot Gama to Melinde.

a canoe, because the captain-major did not choose that the boat should go ashore. When the Moor was gone, the captain-major talked to the pilots who knew how to speak Arabic with a Portuguese man who had been in Africa, and could speak it well; and he asked them about many things, of which they gave a good account, and they were lodged in the forecastle in the pilot's cabin. The Moor, when on shore, despatched the business he had gone about, and the sheikh when alone with him asked him many questions, as to how many men came in the ships, and if they were healthy or sick, and what weapons of war they had, and whether they had brought many such things as they had sent him. The Moor told him that the men-at-arms might be about sixty men, and that many of them were sick, and that their weapons were the swords which he had seen that they wore at their belts, and they had lances; and he had not seen their body armour, much less their merchandise, as they kept it below the decks; but our men were well-conditioned people, and seemed to him men who would do good to those who did it to them: and as this was his opinion, he would take them to Cambay, and there would do their business and assist them in whatever they required, since he thought without any doubt that they would pay him well for his work. As to the people of the other ship, he had not been on board of her, and did not know what it contained. The sheikh having heard this from the Moor, then harboured treachery in his heart against our men, coveting what he might be able to take from the ships, and dissembled with the Moor, showing that he intended to do good to our people. He told the Moor to look for and take to them all that they had sent for, and that when they should be about to depart, then he on his own part would send them what could be got. Then he bade the Moor return to the ship with a message to the captain-major that he would be much pleased if he would

do him the honour to consent to come on shore to amuse himself and dine with him, and if he would send the sick to get them cured, and this he begged much of him. The Moor (in whose heart the Lord was pleased to put much good faith towards our men), seeing these questions and many others which the Sheikh put to him, at once understood that he intended treachery to our people, and that if it should be that he should take the ships and kill or capture our people, he would lose the advantages which he hoped for from our men for the good service which he had determined on performing for them: and with this reflection, and because the Lord was so pleased, he settled in his heart to act with all sincerity towards our men, as if they were his own brothers. So he went to the ship, and went apart with the captain-major alone, and gave him an account in the Arabic language, which the interpreter spoke, of all that had occurred with the sheikh, and that according to his understanding it seemed to him that he was intending treachery; and he told him this that no harm might happen to them. Upon this the captain-major embraced him, promising and vowing to him that he would recompense him as he deserved, besides the good which God would do him for having thus kept faith with them who were strange and foreign men; and whilst they had done no harm to that Moor, he had wished to injure them. Then he sent an answer to the Sheikh, consisting of many thanks, but that they could not disembark in any country, except in that one to which their King was sending them, neither could they send the sick on shore, because he wished to depart immediately; and as the men were used to being always at sea, he was afraid that the land would do them harm, and they might die shortly after: but he would ask him to send to show him where there was water, to fetch some with the boat. The captain-major had disposed this with the design of taking the boat well armed, and of doing

them all the harm in his power if he found there any one who attempted to ill-treat them; because, if the Moor had rightly perceived any treachery on the part of the sheikh, it would discover itself there at the watering place; because, where they would have to take in water was on the mainland, in a place with brushwood, for Mozambique is entirely an island surrounded by sea water. The Sheikh, on hearing the reply of the captain-major that he would not come ashore, nor send the sick, and that he wished to take in water, determined to seize his boat there, and kill his men, and to go with four Moorish ships which were in the port, and many men, and board the ships, and capture them. For this purpose he made ready secretly, and called the captains of the ships who were Moors, giving them an explanation of how he intended to capture our ships and kill all those on board, because they were Christians, enemies of the Moors, and of their prophet Mohamed. The Moors offered themselves for this with good will. The Moor Davané heard and understood all this, and came off to the ship and gave an account of the whole to the captain-major, who held a council with his brother and the pilots and masters, at which it was decided that in no possible event should they risk that a single man should be killed or wounded, on account of their great want and scarcity of men: and as they had no water, and of necessity must go and fetch it, the men should go in the boat well armed, because in the sea they had nothing to fear, and must be on their guard on shore. Then the captain-major ordered two cannons to be placed in the boat, and to make shelters for the gunwales with a small sail, which they could raise when they wished, to shelter themselves from arrows: and he sent in it Nicolas Coelho with ten sailors and twelve men with crossbows, well armed, because at this time they had not as yet got firelocks. He questioned the pilots if they knew where the watering place was; one said yes, but

that they conld not take in water except at high tide, which was at midnight; at which the captain-major rejoiced, because the boat would not go by day when the Moors would see it, and would go with greater security. Thus they carried it ont; but the pilot, who, it seems, knew part of the treachery, would never conduct the boat to the watering place, and kept going up creeks and under trees, making delays, so that the tide might go down and they might remain high and dry. The master paid great attention to the tide, because the captain-major had warned him to do so; and when he saw that it was ebbing he returned, and the pilot then endeavoured to get them to go into other estuaries; but our men understanding his falseness, guessed rightly the way by which they had come, and at once went back. Nicolas Coelho wished to kill the pilot, but did not venture, and thought to bring him to the captain-major that he might order him to be hung, so that the people on shore might see. But the pilot, who was taking good care of himself, when the boat came out into the bay and it was already morning, threw himself into the sea and dived, and came up again a long way from the boat, making away for the shore: our men rowed after him, shooting arrows at him, at which many people flocked to the beach with arms, discharging many arrows at the boat, and stones from slings. This was seen from the ships, and the captain-major put up a flag in the poop of the ship, at which the boat went to the ship, and they took counsel, for Vasco da Gama wanted to go at once and burn the ships since there were already many people in them. In the council they decided not to do such a thing, not to expose any of their men, and that they could easily send them to the bottom with their artillery, but that if they did so in a new country, and in the first where they had put into port, a bad reputation would be spread abroad about them, and it would be said that they were robbers and pirates who came to deceive and rob, which would be the cause of great hindrance to what

they had come to perform; for which reason it was better to dissemble and act as cowards and send to complain to tho sheikh as though they knew nothing of his treachery. This seemed the best course to all. When they wished to send the Moorish broker he did not choose to go on shore, saying that he was afraid they would kill him. Then they made sail and went out of the port, when they saw a canoe with four cafres and a Moor with a white cloth raised upon a pole, who called out, and the captain-major hove to, and the Moor spoke in Arabic. He said that the sheikh was amazed at our people trying to kill his pilot, and at their going away like men who were irritated, the cause of which was not known; because if anyone had done them any injury let them send and say so, and he would do them strict justice in the matter. The captain-major ordered them to put into the canoe the property of the pilot who had fled, and he ordered one Joan Machado, a convict, to enter the canoe, and, because he understood a little Arabic, he bade him tell tho Sheikh, that he, like a good friend, and from affection, had given him two pilots to direct him, and he had ordered them to show where he could get water, and they had gone a whole night and the pilot had not pointed it out, and for that had fled to the shore and our people had tried to catch him; and his people had come out with arms to fight: and as they were not going about to do mischief, nor to fight, but only to seek for what their king had ordered them; and as they had not found sincerity there, in the Sheikh's country, on that account they went away without communicating with him. With this message he sent this Joan Machado, who had been banished for ever, he and ten others; for Vasco da Gama on leaving the kingdom, had asked the king to give him a few prisoners who were condemned to death, in order to adventure them, or leave them in desolate countries,[1] where, if

[1] Camoens, Canto II, 7—

E de alguns, que trazia condenados
Por culpas, & por feitos vergonhosos.

they lived, they might be of great advantage when he returned and found them again. This seemed good to the King and he sent him ten men who were condemned to death, and he had them as banished to desolate countries. One of these was this Joan Machado, whom he sent thus in the canoe, with the design of leaving him in the country, because if he lived when Portugese returned there they might learn from him the affairs of the country and of the people. While the ship was lying to it drifted, and struck upon some shoals from which it got off with much difficulty. These banks were afterwards named the Banks of St. Raphael, from Vasco da Gama's ship.[1] He was much irritated at being unable to pay off the sheikh, which it was in his power to do, and he gave orders to put the pilot in irons to prevent his escaping.

CHAPTER XIII.

How the ships went away from Mozambique along the coast; and of what happened by the way until they reached Melinde.

In proceeding on their voyage, as the wind did not serve for going along the coast, they went and anchored off an island, which is at the distance of one league from Mozambique, to

Porque podessem ser aventurados
Em casos desta sorte duvidosos,
Manda dous——

7.

But from a class condemn'd at home for crime,
Reprieved from death, and with the Armada sent
To be adventured, at the chieftain's time,
Where risk of nobler life were wealth misspent,
Two he selects—— *Quillinan.*

[1] Barros describes this as happening after the fleet had run by Quiloa.

wait for the wind, and to allow of the canoe returning from Mozambique; but it did not return because the Sheikh was much pleased at being able to keep Joan Machado as a captive,[1]

[1] Correa relates that when Pedralvares Cabral came to Mozambique in 1500, the sheikh showed the Portuguese, at the extremity of the town, a tomb with a cross at the head, and told him that there lay a Portuguese who had remained behind from the other ships; and he showed them a plank upon which letters were cut with a knife, which said: "In this grave lies Damiam Rodriguez, whom Vasco da Gama left in this country, who came with him as a banished man and seaman in the *St. Gabriel*." This they went to show to the captain-major, and all were glad to see it; but the deceased had not told the truth, because Dom Vasco did not leave him, but only one João Machado, also a banished man, of whom this Damiam Rodrigues who was banished was a friend; for they had both been arrested together for having killed a man on the Rocio (promenade) of Lisbon, and both had been long prisoners in the Limoeiro of Lisbon, and both were condemned to death for this affair. For this reason, when the ship *S. Rafael* struck on the shoals on leaving Mozambique, Rodriguez, knowing that João Machado remained on shore, at night took to swimming from the ship *S. Gabriel* of Paulo da Gama, in which he was a seaman, and went ashore in search of his friend Machado; and was conducted to the house of the sheikh, where Machado was, and the sheikh rejoiced much at having both of them; for Machado could speak Arabic a little, and the sheikh gave them all they needed, for which they attended upon him like servants. This João Machado related to the sheikh the greatness of the King of Portugal, and how he would send fleets and men to India until he took it: and on learning what our people had done at Melinde the sheikh decided on becoming a great friend of ours. Whilst both these men were in this condition, Damiam Rodrigues fell ill and died, at which Machado was much grieved, and with the sheikh's permission he buried him at the end of the town, and engraved the letters on the plank, and placed it at the head of the grave, with the cross, which the sheikh consented to, because he had already determined to be our friend. In order that the King of Quiloa should know of the affairs of Portugal, which Machado related, the sheikh wrote them, and sent them by Machado, to whom he gave a very good treatment, for Machado was a man of good presence and goodly speech, and well instructed. Machado, when in Quiloa, told the king a great deal about the affairs of Portugal, for he could now speak the language well; and thence he was sent to the King of Bombaça, who was married to a daughter of the King of Quiloa. Speaking to these, Machado inspired them with great fear of Portugal, so that they were deterred from desiring war with our people.

in remembrance of those Christian ships having come there. After hearing the message of the captain-major he was for a long time talking to Joan Machado, and would not send an answer, though he saw very well that the ships were at the island, because he was afraid that the captain-major would capture the people who might go there because they did not bring back Joan Machado, whom he did not wish to send back. This Joan Machado profited very much afterwards by thus remaining there, because he went thence through many countries and passed to Cambay, and from that place to other countries, and learned all the languages, for he was a man of good understanding, and he devoted himself to good, so that he became an honourable man, as will be related further on in this book. The ships having arrived thus at this island, in which there were no people, the crews disembarked, and Vasco da Gama ordered them to erect an altar and say mass; for he still had two priests and the others were dead, for two had been embarked in each ship; and by means of these who survived all confessed during two days, and on Sunday they received the sacrament, and the mass was said in praise of St. George, with respect to whom the captain-major was very devout. On this account they named this island after St. George. Whilst they were here waiting for a wind the captain-major wished to send Nicolas Coelho in the boat, well armed, and with a cannon and some small guns, to go and ask the sheikh for a pilot, and if he did not provide one, on the ground of this grievance he was to bombard the ships and send them to the bottom if he could; this did not seem good to all for the reasons which

Thence he went to Melinde, where he was very well treated by the king, with whose permission he embarked in a Moorish dress for Cambay; there he went about for some time, and thence went to Balagate, and established his abode with the Sabayo, the lord of Goa, where he was held in honour, for he was a valiant man, of whom I will relate more further on.

have already been mentioned before. Then as the wind came they went away along the coast, the pilot telling them that he would take them to a great city named Quiloa, of much trade and abounding in wealth, in which there was a separate quarter where Christian traders dwelled. This the pilot said with falsehood,[1] and with the design of leading them into some snare so that they might all be killed, from spite at their having put him in irons; and he told them that in Quiloa they would find whatever they wanted, and especially pilots of the Indian's ships which were always lying there; respecting these things the captain-major conversed with the broker Davané, questioning him about the things which the pilot told him of Quiloa. He told him that it was so, that Quiloa was indeed a great city, and traded in much merchandise which came from abroad in a great many ships from all parts, especially from Mekkah, and that in the city there were many kinds of people, and there were some Armenian

[1] Camoens, Canto I, 98.

E dizlhe mais co falso pensamento,
Com que Sinon aos Frigios enganou,
Que perto está huma ilha, cujo assento
Povo antigo Christão sempre habitou.
. . . .

99.

. . . .
Aqui o engano, e morte lhe imagina,
Porque em poder e forças muito excede
A Mozambique, esta ilha que se chama
Quiloa, mui conhecida pella fama.

98.

With art like that of Sinon, when his guile
Deceived the leaguer'd Phrygians to their fate,
He tells the Lusitanians of an Isle
By Christians held from immemorial date.

99.

And here, the Moor forbodes, intrigue and death
Await the stranger; for its power and force
Out measure the Mozambican; its name
Quiloa, frequent in the mouth of Fame.

Quillinan.

traders who were from a country called Armenia, and it was said that these people were Christians, but he did not know if they were so, because he had never had any dealings with them; but he advised Vasco da Gama not to trust to the pilot, lest from anger at their having put him in irons, he should practise upon them some deceit, or evil, by causing the ships to strike upon some shoals. The captain-major on hearing all this from the Moor was much comforted, seeing that he was a sincere friend, and he showed him great honour. The Moor busied himself so much in learning our speech, that in a short time he was able to say everything. The captain-major told the pilots and masters to be very watchful during the voyage, and to look out that the Moorish pilot did not commit any error, because if they struck on any shoals he would at once have both his eyes put out. Navigating thus they arrived before Quiloa, where the Lord sent them a contrary wind, so that they were uuable to fetch the port,[1] where the Moorish pilot had determined on wrecking the ships even though he died for it there on the spot, from which the Lord delivered them by not giving them a wind for entering into the port; and they ran along the coast, and reached the port of Bombaza, also a great city of trade with many ships.[2] All this the captain-major was very desirous of seeing and learning, although there was much risk in it, because he had come on purpose to discover and learn everything, and he anchored before the bar. The King of this place had already received a message from the Sheikh of Mozambique,

[1] Barros agrees with Correa in saying that the pilot said there were Christians in Quiloa: he says the currents carried the ships past Quiloa by night, but that they fell into another danger, for the *S. Rafael* grounded upon a bank, from which it got off with the tide; from which those banks were named of S. Rafael. Camoens, Canto I, 100-102, follows Barros, and says Venus turned away the fleet from Quiloa with a contrary gale.

[2] Castanheda and Barros say they arrived there on the 7th of April, the eve of Palm Sunday: they mention the beauty of the houses built of stone and mortar, with windows and terraces in the fashion of Spain.

who sent to say that our people were Christians and robbers, who came to plunder and spy the countries under the device that they were merchants, and they made presents and behaved themselves very humbly in order to deceive, and afterwards come with a fleet and men to take possession of countries; and therefore, he knowing that, had wished to capture them and they had fled from the port. This same message had already come to Quiloa when our people arrived there, for the Sheikh had sent it in a vessel which with oars and sails ran fast along the coast. Our people having thus anchored at the bar, the King, who was already prepared to act treacherously, at once sent a large boat laden with fowls, sheep, sugar-canes, citrons, lemons, and large sweet oranges, the best that had ever been seen; and he sent a respectable old Moor to say to the captain-major that he had much pleasure in seeing him there at anchor, but his pleasure would be complete when the ships were at anchor within his port, if he could go in person to visit him on board of his ship; and in his city he would do him such services that the captain-major would be glad to give him his friendship, and that peace should last for ever between him and their King; that he therefore prayed him to enter at once; and he sent him two pilots to bring the ships into port, because the entrance had shoals which spread out a good deal. The pilots had already got their orders to put the ships upon the banks, where they would be lost, and they were to escape in the boats which would be sent from the shore. The crews were delighted with the present, and especially the sick with the vegetables and oranges. The captain-major sent many thanks to the King for his desire to render him many services, in consequence of which he sent two men to buy him some things which he wanted for his men to eat. Then he sent two of the convicts, who have been already mentioned, and told them to endeavour to see all the city and to see if

there were any Christians, as they told him;[1] and he sent with them the broker Davané; but he did not choose to go, saying, that after they had seen the King then he would be of service in the affair of the merchandise, which was his business, more than establishing new friendships with inhabitants of a country, which he did not know how to do. This seemed reasonable to the captain-major, and he did not send him, so the boat went back with the two men. On hearing the reply the King was very well satisfied, and entertained the Portuguese very well, and he sent them with the old Moor through the city, and he ordered that they should have without money all that they saw and required or that they asked for; with this pretence they conducted them through the whole city, and took them to the house of some Moors who feigned to be Christians, and who shewed them beads with crosses, which they kissed and put on their eyes, and did great honour to our people for being Christians, making them sit down and eat cakes of rice with butter and honey and plenty of fruit; and they wished the Portuguese to sleep in their house,[2] but the Moor who conducted them

[1] Barros says he sent two men to spy out the city: Camoens says they were two of the convicts, of the most sagacious, and that they were to see if there were any Christians in the town: Canto II, 7. Barros says Gama excused himself from entering the port for two days, as they were Christian feasts, during which they did not work.

[2] Barros says nothing of these Christians; but Camoens, who in imitation of Homer and Virgil represents Venus as protecting the Portuguese, and Bacchus as defending the approaches to India, says that Bacchus erected the altar and feigned Christianity; he says that the Portuguese spies were shown a picture of the Holy Spirit painted as a white dove, and of the twelve apostles. These pictures could not have been improvised by the Moors. He also says that the two Portuguese did pass the night with these feigned Christians. Barros has already mentioned that there were Christian Abyssinians at Mozambique, and it is more probable that these should have been real Christians, than that the Moors should have feigned Christianity and veneration for the cross. Castanheda says the two convict spies were taken to the house of two Indian merchants who were Christians of St. Thomas; these, on

would not let them, but took them back to the King, who continued asking them many things and showing much satisfaction, and then sent them to be entertained in his palaces. Next day in the morning the King asked the two Portuguese if they wished to take away any thing of what they had come to fetch. They answered that since the ships were going to come into port they would then buy them. The King then said that that would do as well, and that they could wait till they came in. He then ordered that one of the Portuguese should go and give an account to the captain-major of what they had found, because he wished that he should relate to the captain-major how well he had been received, so that he might be more pleased to come inside the port, for the King desired nothing else, since they would not have pilots to take them out again; but his principal hope was that the pilots would cast the ships upon the banks at the entrance. The King sent the old Moor, accompanied by others as soldiers with their arms and arrows, and he sent to entreat the captain-major to enter at once. He replied that he would whenever the pilots ordered it. The Moor spoke to the pilots, who said that they ought to go in at once as the tide was already rising; upon which the captain-major ordered that they should weigh. Our pilots became angry, saying that the tide was not yet a quarter full, and that they ought to wait till the tide was quite high, and they said so to the Moorish pilots; they replied that the water that there was then was sufficient, because later with more water the tide ran very strong, which was not good. Nevertheless the captain-major ordered the anchor to be weighed as he would go forward. The old Moor then got back into his boat to go rowing ahead of the ship, which on loosing the foresail would never bring her head round to point towards the bar,[1]

learning that the Portuguese were Christians, were much pleased, and showed them a picture of the Holy Ghost which they worshipped.

[1] Barros says—"Vasco da Gama's ship would not head round for the

but went drifting towards the bank; on which account the master ordered the anchor to be let fall and to strike the sails quickly; this Paulo da Gama did also. Upon which the Moor in the boat asked the captain-major what message he sent to the king. The captain-major was vexed at not entering port, and told him to say to the king that he saw well that he could not come in, and that he would be very glad to enter. With this the Moor went away, and the pilots whom he had brought, impatient with the ship, cast themselves into the sea, and made off to the boat, which picked them up and made for the shore. Alarmed at this the captain-major ordered the pilot whom he had got secured to be tortured by dropping boiling grease upon him because the other pilots had been with him, and he at once confessed that the pilots who had fled had been commanded by the King to let the ships go on the banks, and that as they had again cast anchor and did not enter the port, they supposed it was because their treachery was known, and for that they fled.[1] For this the captain-major and all gave thanks to the Lord who had thus miraculously delivered

sail to catch the wind, and began to drive upon a shoal; he, seeing the danger, with loud cries ordered to let go an anchor."

Camoens, in six very beautiful stanzas of the second canto, poetises the incident of Gama's ship refusing to steer, and represents sea-born Venus, obeyed by the water powers, convoking the Nereids to stay the ship from entering the unfriendly port; and the sea-nymphs, like ants struggling with a heavy weight, opposed their soft bosoms to the hard prows of the ships, and turned aside the Portuguese from a horrible end. Though an imitation, it is yet an improvement upon Neptune's setting Cymothoe and Triton to dig Æneas' ships out of the sandbanks.

[1] Barros, Camoens, and Osorio attribute the fear and flight of the Moorish pilots to the great shouting and rushing of the crew from one end of the ship to the other to let go the anchor. Barros says that even the Mozambique pilot jumped off the poop into the sea; Castanheda says that Gama caused two of the Mozambique prisoners to be tortured with boiling grease; and when he was about to torture another Moor, this man jumped into the sea with his hands tied together, and another jumped in from the poop.

them from so great a danger. When the tide turned and went out, as it was moonlight, the captain-major ordered them to weigh the anchor,[1] at which they worked all night,

[1] Barros, Castanheda, and Camoens say that the Moors came that night to cut the ships' cables, but that as they were heard their evil design did not succeed.

Canto II, 17.

Na terra cautamente apparelhavam
Armas, e munições; que como vissem,
Que no rio os navios ancoravam,
Nelles ousadamente se subissem:
E nesta traição determinavam,
Que os de Luso de todo destruissem,
E que incautos pagassem deste geito
O mal, que em Moçambique tinham feito.

18.

As ancoras tenaces vão levando,
Com a nautica grita costumada,
Da proa as velas sós ao vento dando,
Inclinam para a barra abalizada.
Mas a linda Erycina, que guardando
Andava sempre a gente assinalada,
Vendo a cilada grande, e tão secreta,
Voa do ceo ao mar como huma setta.

19.

Convoca as alvas filhas de Nereo,
Com toda a mais cerulea companhia;
Que, porque no salgado mar nasceo,
Das aguas o poder lhe obedecia:
E propondo-lhe a causa, a que desceo,
Com todos juntamente se partia,
Para estorvar que a armada não chegasse
Aonde para sempre se acabasse.

20.

Já na agua erguendo vão com grande pressa
Com as argenteas caudas branca escuma:
Doto co'o peito corta, e atravessa
Com mais furor o mar, do que costuma:
Salta Nise, Nerine se arremessa
Por cima da agua crespa, em força summa:
Abrem caminho as ondas encurvadas,
De temor das Nereidas apressadas.

until morning, and before the tide had entirely gone down, with the great force which they used, the cable broke, and the ship went out, and the anchor remained behind, which the Moors got up later, and placed at the gate of the King's palace, where afterwards the Viceroy Dom Francisco

21.

Nos hombros de hum Tritão com gesto acceso
Vai a linda Dione furiosa:
Não sente, quem a leva, o doce peso,
De soberbo com carga tão formosa:
Já chegam perto, donde o vento teso
Enche as velas da frota bellicosa:
Repartem-se, e rodeam nesse instante
As naos ligeiras, que hiam por diante.

22.

Poem-se a deosa com outras em direito
Da proa capitaina, e alli fechando
O caminho da barra, estão de geito,
Que em vão assopra o vento, a vela inchando:
Poem no madeiro duro o brando peito,
Para detraz a forte nao forçando:
Outras, em derredor, levando-a estavam,
E da barra inimiga a desviavam.

23.

Quaes para a cova as providas formigas,
Levando o pezo grande accommodado,
As forças exercitam, de inimigas
Do inimigo inverno congelado;
Alli são seus trabalhos, e fadigas,
Alli mostram vigor nunca esperado:
Taes andavam as nymphas estorvando
A gente Portugueza o fim nefando.

24.

Torna para detraz a nao forçada,
A pezar dos que leva, que gritando
Maream velas, ferve a gente irada,
O leme a hum bordo, e a outro atravessando:
O mestre astuto em vão da popa brada,
Vendo como diante ameaçando
Os estava hum maritimo penedo,
Que de quebrar-lhe a nao lhe mette medo.

Dalmeida found it.[1] The King, to conceal his treachery, quarrelled much with the pilots because they ran away, in

[1] Castanheda says Gama left Mombaza on Friday, and that on leaving the bar they left behind one of their anchors, as the men were very weary with getting up the others, and could not weigh this one; the Moors found it later and placed it close to the King's palace, where Francisco d'Almeida found it when he took Mombaza.

25.

A celeuma medonha se levanta
No rudo marinheiro, que trabalha:
O grande estrondo a Maura gente espanta,
Como se vissem horrida batalha:
Não sabem a razão de furia tanta,
Não sabem nesta pressa, quem lhe valha;
Cuidam, que seus enganos são sabidos,
E que hão de ser por isso aqui punidos.

26.

Ei-los subitamente se lançavam
A seus bateis veloces, que traziam:
Outros em cima o mar alevantavam,
Saltando n'agua, a nado se acolhiam:
De hum bordo e d'outro subito saltavam;
Que o medo os compellia do que viam;
Que antes querem ao mar aventurar-se,
Que nas mãos inimigas entregar-se.

27.

Assi como em selvatica alagoa
As rãas, no tempo antigo Lycia gente,
Se sentem por ventura vir pessoa,
Estando fóra da agua incautamente;
Daqui e dalli saltando, o charco soa,
Por fugir do perigo que se sente;
E acolhendo se ao couto, que conhecem,
Sós as cabeças na agua lhe apparecem:

28.

Assi fogem os Mouros: e o piloto,
Que ao perigo grande as naos guiara,
Crendo que seu engano estava noto,
Tambem foge, saltando na agua amara.
Mas por não darem no penedo immoto,
Onde percam a vida doce e chara,
A ancora solta logo a capitaina,
Qualquer das outras junto della amaina.

the presence of the convict who had remained on shore (who was named Peter Diaz, and who afterwards came to

Canto II, 17.

The warriors on the isle are all prepared,
And wait the moment to effect their scheme,
To seize the fleet, within the bar ensnared
And tether'd to its anchors in the stream;
Nor less than massacre of all on board
Will satisfy their fury, which they deem
A sacred thirst of vengeance, for they seek
Their brothers to avenge of Mozambique.

18.

The nautic cheer that helps the windlass round
Calls up the sullen anchors, slow to rise;
With foresheet only to the wind unbound,
The Armada, by the landmarks steering, plies
Right for the bar. But of her charge renown'd
Still watchful, Erycina, who descries
The peril, darts on ocean from above
Swift as an arrow from the bow of Love.

19.

She summon'd the white Nereids to her aid,
And all their mates of the cerulean plain:
Her voice the willing Power of Waters sway'd:
And all the listening sisters of the main
Their Aphroditè cheerfully obey'd.
Prompt at her word, they follow to restrain
The lured Armada from the fatal river,
Where once entangled it is lost for ever.

20.

Away they race, and foremost of the throng
Nerinè, flashing onward in the pride
Of force consummate, flings herself along;
Nisa goes bounding o'er the bounding tide;
Doto, in more than wonted fury strong,
Breasts the tall billows: the curved waves divide
In awe to give the rushing Nereids way—
Long lines behind them gleam of argent spray.

21.

Majestic passion sparkling in her eyes,
Upon the shoulders of a Triton sate
The lovely Dionæa; lightly lies
On him the burden, proud of such a freight—

India to our people, and became a seafaring man, so that they named him "Northeast"), and the King ordered the pilots to be beaten.

The fleet that under easy canvas tries
The ill-omen'd pass, they reach ere yet too late,
And, instant, wheeling as the leader guides,
A troop of Nymphs around each vessel glides.

22.

The Goddess and her troop confront the sail
Of Gama, hindering access to the bar,
With such effect that all in vain the gale
Blows aft. Their bosoms, resolute as fair,
Against the bows enforced, back, back compel
The strong-ribb'd ship, while with as strenuous care
Others astern, cling grappling at the hull:—
The shuddering ship recoils with canvas full!

23.

As emmets, provident against their foe
The shrewd and nipping winter, to their cell
Trailing some bulky weight well-balanced, show
What mighty hearts in little room may dwell,
And tugging, straining, over high and low,
Straight to their hoard the giant prize compel—
So toil the Nymphs from ruin foul to save
Their Lusian friends and comrades of the wave.

24.

The stagger'd ship to leeward falls, and drifts
In spite of those who toil with shrilly cry
At cord and sail; the raging steersman shifts
His helm from side to side incessantly:
The Master from the poop in vain uplifts
His warning voice that tells of peril nigh;
For breakers now upon his quarter loom,
A reef of sea-beat rocks that threaten doom.

25.

The fearful whooping the rough seamen raise,
Clangs to their toil: the clamour and the press
Of furious energies the Moors amaze,
As if they were amid the horrent stress
Of battle: whither the loud tumult sways,
Or what it bodes, they know not, but they guess
The weft unravell'd of their artful snare,
And vengeance bursting on them, then, and there.

26.

Impell'd by irresistible dismay,
Lo! on a sudden, overboard they leap,
Whirling from this side and from that away!
Some vault to their almadas and skim the deep;
Others plunge headlong in the upboiling sea,
Adventuring rather through its coil and sweep
To struggle for the chance of life, than know
What fate may wait them from an injured foe.

27.

As on the bosky margin of a lake,
Having emerged incautious from the mere,
Frogs (in old time a Lycian people) take
Affright perchance at some intruder near,
And leaping, splashing, hither, thither make
The troubled water vocal with their fear,
And huddle to their customary screen,
Nought but their heads above the surface seen,—

28.

So flit the Moors: and he of Mozambique,
Who led the ships to that great jeopardy,
Believing his imposture known, alike
Escapes by plunging to the bitter sea:
But lest upon the steadfast rock they strike,
Where life, so sweet and precious, lost must be,
The flagship drops the anchor at a cast;
The rest, hard by their leader, moor as fast.

Quillinan.

Mombas. The main entrance is about a mile and a half broad between the outer reefs, which together with the south end of the island form the outer bay or road, which has in general from six to nine fathoms' depth of water, with some deep holes of from eighteen to thirty-five fathoms, and a shoal patch with less than four fathoms.

The port, although safe inside, is rather difficult of access, on account of extensive reefs which contract the entrance to the port to about two cables' length, with from eight to sixteen fathoms between the reefs, with the castle bearing about NNW.—Horsburgh's *Directory*.

CHAPTER XIV.

How the ships reached Melinde, and of the good peace which the King established with our people, and from thence they departed to Calicut.

OUR men having left Bombaza, they ran along the coast with much vigilance, because they did not trust to the pilot whom they had got in irons, and proceeding on their voyage, one afternoon they sighted two sambuks,[1] of which they only captured one, for the other got so close in to shore that the ships could not reach it, until it found a very narrow river, into which it put in. The other, which was taken, was laden with ivory, and eighty men were captured in it. Its captain was a man of Dias, who was taking thither his wife, a very pretty woman, with rich jewels and money in a chest, and four women in her service. The captain-major distributed amongst the ships, only the people who remained in the sambuk, into which he ordered ten Portuguese to be put, whom he prohibited from moving anything, and bade them watch well by night, so as not to part company from the ships. They searched the sambuk and did not find any arms in it. So they went on until they arrived at Melinde,[2] which is on the open coast. As the city was a

[1] Both Barros and Camoens say they met the two sambuks the day after leaving Mombaza. Barros says they captured thirteen Moors, as the rest jumped into the sea, and that Gama brought them on to Melinde, and that all these men concurred in praising the humanity of the King of Melinde, and in saying that a pilot might be obtained there for India. Osorio says he took fourteen Moors, and let go the rest, and that among the prisoners was their captain, from whom he got much information. Castanheda says that Gama tried to find a pilot among these prisoners of the sambuk, but they always said they could not pilot him even though they were put to torture.

[2] Barros, Osorio, and Camoens say they arrived at Melinde on Easter Sunday, 1498; Castanheda says they arrived at sunset on the Saturday before Easter Day: he says Melinde is situated on a plain by the side of the

great one, of noble buildings, and surrounded by walls, and placed immediately on the shore, it made an imposing appearance, and at the sight of it our men experienced great

sea, and looks like Alcouchete; it was surrounded by palm trees and gardens of orange trees and evergreens.

Canto II, 73.

Quando chegava a frota áquella parte.
Onde o reino Melinde já se via,
De toldos adornada, e leda de arte,
Que bem mostra estimar o sancto dia:
Treme a bandeira, voa o estandarte,
A cor purpurea ao longe apparecia,
Soam os atambores, e pandeiros:
E assi entravam ledos, e guerreiros.

74.

Enche-se toda a praia Melindana
Da gente, que vem ver a leda armada;
Gente mais verdadeira, e mais humana,
Que toda a d'outra terra atraz deixada.
Surge diante a frota Lusitana,
Péga no fundo a ancora pezada:
Mandam fóra hum dos Mouros, que tomaram,
Por quem sua vinda ao Rei manifestaram.

73.

When to that distance from the which their eys
Might reach Melinde, the Armada came;
Adorn'd with tapistrie triumphant-wise,
As that day's holiness it well became.
The Standard trembles, and the streamer flyes,
The scarlet-wast-cloaths at a distance flame,
The drums and timbrels sound. Thus they that bar.
Like Christians enter, and like men of war.

74.

With people hid is the Melindian shore,
That come to see the joyful fleet. More kind
Are these, more humane, and of truth have more,
Than those of all the countreys left behind.
The Lusitanian navy drops, before,
The heavy anchors, which fast rooting find.
One, of the Moors they took, is sent on land:
To let the King their coming understand.

Fanshaw.

delight, and gave great praise to the Lord, who had brought them to such a country. They anchored in front of the city close to many ships which were in the port, all dressed out with flags, for the King also ordered flags to be hung out on the walls of the city, to show our people the pleasure which he felt at their arrival. The reason of this was, that on the arrival of the news which ran through the country of the coming of the ships, and of what they did wherever they came, he spoke with a soothsayer in whom he much confided, and talked with him of what he should do, touching our people. The soothsayer told him to establish all the peace and amity with our men that he could, because it would last for ever, and he would not receive the injuries which our men would do to all the other places in which they did not meet with full sincerity; for our people were to be the masters of all India, and by establishing a friendship at first with them, it would last for ever. The King, who trusted much in the soothsayer, decided in his heart to act in this manner. Afterwards our ships arrived off the port, which was at the end of April of 1498,[1] it was already late, and

[1] Amongst other reasons for thinking that Correa's dates are more exact than those of Barros and the other writers, the circumstances attending the arrival at Melinde may be mentioned. Barros says Gama arrived there on Easter Sunday, April 15, 1498—Correa says the end of April. Now Correa is in the habit of mentioning the saints' days rather than the dates of the days of the month, and it is hardly likely he would have omitted to mention Easter Sunday had they arrived on that day. Moreover, Correa mentions that it was a moonlight night when they got up their anchor to leave Mombaza, and both accounts agree that that was three nights and two days before the arrival at Melinde. Now, full moon was on the 6th of April, about two p.m. Greenwich mean time, and the expression of a moonlight night would appear to apply better to a night at the end of April, six days or a week before the full moon, than to a night six days or a week after the full moon of April 6th. Also, if Gama had arrived on the 15th April, that would have been during Ramazan, which ended on the 23rd April, after which came the three days of Bairam; and as Correa mentions the Moors and Portuguese eating together by day, and gives

they did not send any message. Next day, in the morning, there came a canoe, with a well dressed man, who spoke from the canoe, and said that the King asked who they were, and what they wanted in his country, and that whatever they had need of they might send to fetch in the city, and if it was to be had, it would all be given them for money, and with good will. The captain-major replied that they required a good deal, and for that reason would he give him leave to enter the port, because without his leave he would by no means enter. That skiff went back with the message and did not come again, and as it was late the old Moor of the sambuk said to the captain-major that he should send him ashore, and that he would bring back word from the King. The captain-major approved of this, and sent him in the boat, which was to put him into some one of the ships, of which there were many close to the beach: this they did, and a skiff which was going along came to the boat to ask what they wanted. The Moor got into this and went ashore, and the boat returned to the ship. The Moor went to speak to the King, giving him an account of how our men had bronght him away as a prisoner, but without doing him any harm, and that he knew that in Mozambique and Quiloa and Bombaza, they had intended to do injury and treachery to the Portuguese, without their having done any harm: on that account let the King consider what he would do with our people, because if he did not give them leave to enter the port, they wished to go away at once. The King having heard this, and in consequence of what he had already determined upon in his heart, immediately ordered a boat to be laden with refreshments, which he sent to the captain-major, saying that he was much pleased that he should enter

many details, without mentioning either the fast of Ramazan nor the subsequent festivities, the probability is great that Gama arrived, as Correa says, at the end of April, when the Ramazan and Bairam would be entirely over.

into the port, and that the captain-major was to send and tell him whatever he wanted. The old Moor remained with the King, who sent off a pilot in a skiff to bring the ships inside the port, which was formed in the sea by a reef, by which they were to enter. The captain-major on receiving the King's message, talked with the broker Davané, and begged him to go and speak with the King, and see what he thought of him, and then with his advice the captain-major would do what was fitting. This the Moor did at once, and, dressed in his red robe, he went on shore, in the boat which had brought the refreshments, and on behalf of the captain-major he gave the King many thanks for the refreshment and for the answer which he had sent giving him leave to enter the port, which he would do soon, when the pilot ordered it. The King was much pleased with the Moor, and sat apart with him asking him many questions; touching which the Moor gave him a long narrative of all that he had seen since he had been going in company with our people. Then the King spoke with his magistrates and councillors, and said that he felt much pleasure in his heart at seeing our people come to his port in a peaceable and amicable manner, and that they should give him their opinions, because he wished not to err. Upon this they all treated the matter, and settled that the King should receive them with hospitable entertainment, because there were no such evil people in the world as to do evil to any who did good to them: and even should the Portuguese not be good, it would still be in his power to turn them out of the country, or to do them an injury if they had deserved it. The King rejoiced much at this answer, and at acting in this matter with the favourable opinion of his own people. On the next day the King sent off the Moor, and with him his casis, an old man of much authority, who was the principal priest of his mosque, with a present of sheep, fowls, and vegetables, and sent to say to the captain-major by the Moor, that he had great

pleasure in seeing him, and he hoped that his pleasure would be much greater when he should have established sincere peace and friendship with them, on which account they should at once enter the port, and then come on shore and repose within his palaces. When the captain-major heard this, he showed much respect to the casis, because the Moor told him that the King had sent him as though he were a prince, his own son. The captain-major ordered them to bring him preserves in a silver vase and water with a napkin [1]; and then had the ships dressed out with flags. The pilot whom the King sent, put the ships into their place outside of many other ships which were in the port, also with flags, and the ships fired a salute with all their artillery, so that the city shook, for the captain-major ordered the discharge beneath it and towards the outer side, and he ordered everything to be settled according as was suitable, and on firing they threw a few balls from the large guns to seaward, which went skimming and ricochetting on the sea, causing great amazement; and the trumpet sounded. At this all the people of the city came out on the beach, and they said that a single one of those shots would throw down the whole city. Whilst the captain-major went to his brother's ship, Nicolas Coelho remained in the ship as captain. When they were moored the captain-major sent his answer to the King by the Kasis, with great compliments of courtesy and thanks for what he had sent, and to say that they were there to do him any service which he might command. The Kasis, seeing that they were sending him away, said that the King had sent him to stay with Vasco de Gama until their agreements of peace had been established, and everything was made secure; and the Moor said that the King had sent the Kasis to stay as a hostage. But the Captain-major, as a

[1] A mark of welcome of a guest, in use in Turkey, Persia, Wallachia, and other countries, and frequently mentioned as in use in Spain in Calderon's plays.

great compliment, and in order to show the great confidence which he placed in the King, told the Kasis to say to tho King that his goodness of heart was sufficient, so that all was secure; and he gave the Kasis a string of coral for his prayers, for which the Kasis made him very courteous salutations, and uttered many good wishes and words of praise. These men having returned to the King, he was much pleased at seeing such confidence in our men, and, in speaking with his own people, he said that men who did not wish to do evil did not fear evil. Immediately afterwards, the Captain-major sent the Moor on shore to say to the King that he required several things for the ships and for the crews, which he would buy with his money, if he would grant him leave to send with the broker a man to buy them, and not let them be defrauded. He sent the Moor in the boat, which was to put him in the boat of a Moorish ship, and not go ashore; this was done, and a boat of the Moor's took him on shore. There he gave his message to the King, who gave himself up to leisure with the Moor; and, as it was late, he remained with the King, who during the whole night was questioning him about many things, touching which the Moor was unable to give him information, only he told him of the benefits and largesses which he had seen the Portuguese bestowing in Mozambique, where the Sheikh, coveting the plunder which he might have gotten in the ships, prepared treachery against them; also in Quiloa and Bombaza; and that they had done no harm to those whom they had taken in the sambuk, neither had they touched anything. Upon this the King called the Moor of the sambuk, and questioned him as to what had happened of what the broker had been saying. The Moor threw himself at the feet of the King, saying, "Sir, the Christians who are in the ships are such men that, with few entreaties which you might make to them, you would deliver me from captivity, and my wife, and all my property and crew, which

they had not touched at all, neither had they done any harm." Because, on reaching his sambuk, Vasco da Gama ordered him to strike his sail, and to do so at once and obey without fighting, for if he fought and did not obey that flag which he carried at the peak which was of the King of Portugal, he would burn them all and send them to the bottom: which he would do to whomsoever he found at sea who did not obey him, and strike without resistance: and those who did not do so he would sink them all to the bottom.[1] And as the King was so excellent a man, that without knowing them he had given them such a welcome, Vasco da Gama sent him those men and their sambuk and property, to do with all according to his pleasure: and he sent a boat to take the sambuk in tow in front of the houses, and the Moorish broker to go and present them all to the King. When this was heard by the Moor, and by the others, they raised their hands to heaven with loud exclamations, saying in their language: "The God of heaven requite you well, and all your company, and restore you to your country in health and safety;" and the people of the ship answered Amen! Amen! a good voyage, and the Lord of his mercy give us safety. At the shouts and cries of the Moors, which were heard on shore, many people flocked down to the beach, and the boat arrived thus laden with Moors and the sambuk in tow, and having landed them on the beach, the boat at once returned to the

[1] This may seem a very high-handed proceeding, partaking more of might than right, and due to the Middle Ages, which were then on the point of concluding. These traditions have however been preserved in the same seas, as appeared from a letter in the *Times* in the summer of 1867 from an English naval officer, who complained that a British ship of war had burned a dhow or sambuk and captured the crew because they had no papers and were suspected of slave trading, though they had only been going from one part of their island Johanna (one of the Comoro Islands) to another, and had been blown away or carried away by the currents from the land.

ship. The King's page and the broker went in front, and behind them the old Moor with his women and people; and all being present before the King, the page gave him the message of the captain-major: then all threw themselves down before the King to kiss his feet, with exclamations of great praise for having thus delivered them from captivity. The King showed very great satisfaction at this, holding it to be greatly to his honour; and all his people and the inhabitants of the city spoke much in praise of our men. On the next day the King sent to say to the captain-major, that if he did not wish to come on shore, that he would come to see him in the ship, and that this he would surely do, and that he should therefore arrange how this was to be, because in seeing him with his eyes, his heart would be at rest with that which he so much desired. When the good brothers heard this, both took counsel of one another. Vasco da Gama said that as at sea they carried their lives at all hours in peril of the hour of death, so it befitted them to act on land, risking their lives and persons in the power of the Moors and Gentiles, and labouring day and night to establish peace and friendship with these new peoples, which God showed to them: but what it necessarily became them to do, as they neither saw nor understood the falsehoods, was that they should attend to preserving themselves as best they might, placing all their hopes in the mercy of God: and in order that what had been already gained should not be lost, he required him, his good brother, for God's sake, as the eldest which he was, to be content that he as the younger should be adventured amongst the perils of the land, whilst he ought always to remain at sea, being the more important: for should it be the case that the Lord were pleased that his life should be imperilled, he entreated him to return at once to the kingdom to give news to the King of the service which he had rendered; and so his soul would go to rest for having fulfilled the obligations which

he owed to God and to his King. Vasco da Gama having made this entreaty to his brother, they embraced several times with many tears, and sincere love; Paulo da Gama promising him to do as he requested him, and praying the Lord God to have mercy upon them. This agreement having been thus made between the good brothers, they settled that if it were incumbent on Vasco da Gama to go on shore, he would do it, for all the risk that there was in it, if the King requested it, in order to make some beginning of establishing good relations, for up to this time they had done nothing. Then he sent an answer to the King, saying, that God had brought them thither where they were, because knowing that he as so noble a king would do them good and entertain them, for thus also did the great kings and princes when there arrived in their countries, foreign men, lost and wandering as they had come: for which reason they would serve him like his own subjects, in all services which he might command them; only as to coming on shore, that they could not do, as they had been forbidden by their sovereign to land in foreign countries,[1]

[1] Camoens, Canto II, 83.

E não cuides ó Rey, que não sahisse
O nosso Capitão esclarecido
A verte, ou a servirte, porque visse,
Ou sospeitasse em ti peito fingido:
Mas saberás, que o fez, porque comprisse
O regimento, em tudo obedecido,
De seu Rey, que lhe manda que não saya,
Deixando a frota em algum porto, ou praya.

84.

E porque he de vassallos o exercicio,
Que os membros tem regidos da cabeça,
Não quererás, pois tens de Rey o officio,
Que ninguem a seu Rey desobedeça:
Mas as merces, e o grande beneficio,
Que ora acha em ti, promete, que conheça
Em tudo aquillo, que elle, e os seus puderem,
Em quanto os rios para o mar correrem.

and therefore they hoped he would pardon their not complying with his desires on this occasion. With this answer they sent him a piece of scarlet cloth, and another piece of crimson satin, and a large mirror of Flanders closed with doors, and beautifully gilt. The King, on receiving the answer and the present, was much pleased, and all his courtiers praised it much, and took pleasure in looking at the mirror and the painted figures which surrounded it. The King found himself indisposed that night, and on that account did not go to the sea, as he had determined on doing; and he sent to say so, and that since they could not come on shore, meanwhile, until he should be well again, he begged them to send him a man to see and converse with, for which he had a strong desire: and whatever they required he would order it to be taken to them, and that in all they should do as though they were in their own country. When Vasco da Gama heard this, in order to satisfy the King, from its being so very desirable to gain his goodwill, he sent on shore Nicolas Coelho, very well dressed, for he was

83.

And if our Chief refrains to tender here
His homage to the Ruler of the land,
Deem not, O King, that he is held by fear
Of less than Kingly usage at thy hand:
But know that bound by the restraint severe
Of duty, he obeys his King's command
That till his orient mission be complete,
Nor coast nor harbour tempt him from the fleet.

84.

And since the laws of vassalage require
Subservience of the members to the head,
Thou, holding regal office, wilt desire
No subject a forbidden path to tread.
But for the gratitude he owes thee, Sire,
He vows, 'tis all he can, thy fame to spread,
And pledges too his nation's friendship won
So long as rivers to the ocean run.

Quillinan.

a well-conditioned man, of courteous bearing, and discreet. The captains gave him many instructions as to what he was to do and to say and answer, and that in the evening, with the leave of the King, he was to return to the ship to sleep. He went in the boat with the Moorish broker Davané, and landed on a quay which there was in front of the King's houses. There the crowd of people was so great, that the magistrates could not make them keep off even with blows. On arriving before the King, Nicolas Coelho made him a ceremonious salutation, which the King was pleased at seeing, and bade him sit on the end of the carpet upon which he was seated, upon a stool two spans high, covered with a cloth of common brocade, and the stool was worked with gold and inlaid with ivory. In that place with the Moor he asked him many questions of his coming and navigation, and of the affairs of Portugal. He gave the King an account how the King of Portugal had a name like God, that he was called Manoel, and that he was the greatest Christian sovereign that there was in the world, and that he took so many thousand horsemen to the wars against people who refused to obey him; which wars he conducted by land and sea, in which he always had a fleet of two hundred ships: and that he had so many cities and towns, and had such revenues, that every month he put into his treasury two hundred thousand cruzados[1] beyond his expenditure: and that from his desire to know of new countries, he had sent a hundred ships to make discoveries at sea, and to return to him with all the merchandise which they found, especially pepper and drugs; and all had full regulations as to what they were to do, above all that they were not to do harm to anyone unless they did it to them: they were not to land in any countries except with their captain-major, under pain of death. They had set sail thus with this fleet, which, he said, was going to a very distant country, and

[1] A cruzado = 2s. 9d. = annual surplus of £330,000.

had been separated from the fleet by a storm, and two years had passed that they had been going about as lost upon the sea, without knowing their course, nor whither they were going, experiencing frequent storms and great hardships, of which so many of their people had died, that they had broken up another ship, for they were three, and so these two remained in which they were voyaging, and would have to continue their voyage until they reached that country which they were going to seek, in order to bring back information to their King; and if they did not find it, or meet with their fleet, they would go on running along countries until all died, because they did not know how to return to their country for their pilot had died. Nicolas Coelho thus related many other things, which the King asked him about, until the setting of the sun, when he asked leave of the King, and returned to the ship: and the King ordered him to be carried in his boat, in which he went pleased and smiling, for it was very much gilt and splendid. The King gave him two very fine white cloths, and two coloured silk cloths with gold fringes, and a ring with a blue stone very pretty to look at. Afterwards he returned other times to shore when he was called for by the King, who always sent to visit the captains and inquire after all the people of the ships. In order that the King should not be put to expense for them, they sent a ship-boy, one of the banished men, with the Moorish broker, to go through the city to buy all that they required, and the purchases were made with silver testoons, which went for double their worth. During all these days the King constantly held council with his wise men, who assured him that the peace which he should establish with our people would last for ever, so long as they themselves did not break it, and that our people would come to be lords of India and of many countries, and of fleets which were to come, and that he would see it all thus with his own eyes, whilst he lived; meantime, it was

good counsel to obtain our friendship by such proceedings that it should remain good for ever. This counsel the King in his heart readily proposed to follow, and he frequently talked of it with his people who thus advised him, because things with a good beginning have a good ending. Then the King pressed the captains much to come and speak to him, because it was very requisite, for if they did not see and speak to each other, nothing would be done well by messengers. For which reason the captains also agreed to do so, and they sent to say to the King that since such was his desire, and they also greatly desired to do it, that if he would approve of it, they might see one another in the sea, where they would come in their boats to the edge of the shore, since they could not come on shore: with which the King was content. The day being fixed upon which they were to have an interview with the King, the captains dressed themselves nobly and very splendidly,[1] with all the men who were to take part in this: and each of them went in his boat seated on chairs covered with

[1] Camoens, Canto II, 97.

Não menos guarnecido o Lusitano,
Nos seus bateis da frota se partia
A receber no mar o Melindano,
Com lustrosa e honrada companhia.
Vestido o Gama vem ao modo Hispano,
Mas Francesa era a roupa, que vestia,
De cetim da Adriatica Veneza,
Carmesi, cor que a gente tanto preza.

97.

Nor less of pomp the Lusitanian shows
When, with his gallant retinue, advance
The Armada's boats, midway to welcome those
Of the Melindan on the bay's expanse.
Clad in the vogue of Spain Da Gama goes,
All but the cloak, a gorgeous robe of France,
The web Venetian satin, and the dye
A glorious crimson that delights the eye.

Quillinan.

crimson velvet, and carpets underneath, and the sides of the boats were spread with woollen rugs, on which the men sat. The boats had two swivel guns each, which they always carried, and two cannoneers, and many flags; and on leaving the ships they fired several guns which they pointed outside, that the firing of the cannon might not do any harm to the shipping. The two boats, side by side, came to the edge as near as they could come, where the King was waiting for them, with all the people of the city who could not find room on the beach, houses, and walls of the city. Having arrived there, they saw the King, and both performed great courtesies and salutations to him, and the King returned them suitably. Then the King, much pleased, ordered his men (as the sea was calm) to take and place him in the boats, where they on board received him, kneeling with one knee on the ground, and paying him great honours and courtesy; and in the bows of the boat they spread a carpet and set a chair upon which the King sat down. Paulo da Gama, by means of the interpreter, who was the slave that spoke Arabic (which the King knew how to speak), and whom they had brought well dressed, said to the King: "Sire, great King, you are doing us such great honour at this hour, that from this day forward we remain bound to you like your own vassals,[1] if you are pleased to establish peace and friendship with the King of Portugal our Sovereign, as his true brother." To which the King answered: "God knows that I have already determined upon that in my heart, and that it

[1] Camoens, Canto II, 104.
Ó tu, que só tiveste piedade,
Rey benigno, da gente Lusitana,
Que com tanta miseria, e adversidade
Dos mares exprimenta a furia insana:
Aquella alta, e divina Eternidade,
Que o Ceo revolve, e rege a gente humana,
Pois que de ti taes obras recebemos,
Te pague o que nosoutros não podemos.

is what I desire day and night and always, and it greatly gratifies me, from this time forward for ever, as long as I live, to have a true brotherhood with your King of Portugal as long as I live, which I thus affirm upon my religion." Upon this the captains put themselves on their knees, trying to kiss his hand, and the King made them rise, at which the crews of the boats shouted "Welcome![1] the Lord be praised!" and the trumpets sounded, and the ships again

[1] Boa viagem.

105.

Tu só de todos quantos queima Apollo,
Nos recebeste em paz do mar profundo,
Em ti dos ventos horridos de Eolo
Refugio achamos bom, fido, e jocundo:
Em quanto apacentar o largo polo
As estrellas, e o Sol der lume ao mundo
Onde quer que eu viver com fama, e gloria,
Viverão teus louvores em memoria.

104.

O Thou, the King benign, in whom alone
We find compassion of our lorn estate,
We who till now but misery have known
In weary coil with seas infuriate;
May He who guides from His eternal throne
The spheres of heaven and course of human fate,
Requite thy signal bounty, royal Moor,
Since we in all but gratitude are poor.

105.

From none but thee beneath the torrid ray
Has peace consoled the strangers from the deep;
In thee at last a solace and a stay
Are ours, and refuge from the whirlpool's sweep:
For which while earth shall know the light of day,
While either pole its starry flock shall keep,
Where'er may live Da Gama's name, be sure,
In fame and glory will thy praise endure.

Quillinan.

Osorio says that the King of Melinde was very old, and that he was of a gentle and benignant disposition.

fired their artillery; for so it had been ordered that when the trumpets sounded on shore the artillery should fire. All this took place close to the beach, and all the King's people saw it. Then Vasco da Gama took a splendid sword, which he had brought in a case made for it, which was of enamelled gold, very handsome, with its belts, very magnificent, such as it was the custom to use at that time, and a lance of gilt iron, and a buckler lined with crimson satin worked with gold thread, and presented them all to the King, saying: "Sire, at the accomplishment of great deeds arms are offered, as a mark of true friendship and brotherhood, which we do to you at this moment as a sign of your sincerity, in the name of our King Manoel, who is the greatest that is in the world; for it is his custom to present arms to any new friend and brother whom he adopts, and to certify his sincerity he gives him arms in order to assist and defend him with them, because with the sword the greatest honour in the world is gained, which is that of knighthood; and whoever breaks the friendship which he forms by the gift of the sword, remains with his honour lost for ever; therefore, Sire, we give you this sword and arms in the name of our King, and promise to maintain sincere peace and friendship with you for ever, as with the brother of our sovereign the King of Portugal, whom you have now adopted as a new brother." The King again answered: "I promise and swear by my religion for ever to comply with true peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, my new brother, and never, as long as I live, to be wanting to him in anything, nor to break that which I now speak before all my people; and I hold it to be good fortune to possess the friendship of so great a King as is yours."[1] Then Vasco da Gama said

[1] The following extract from a letter of the Viceroy D. Francisco D'Almeida to the King, written after the death of his son in 1507, and published for the first time in the *Annaes das sciencias e lettras*, 1858, speaks of the subsequent conduct of the Portuguese at Melinde:—

to the King that he begged and earnestly entreated him to charge and recommend to the broker, and to the pilot whom they had brought from Mozambique, and who had conducted them so far, to guide them well to that country to which he was taking them; and he said that in it there were drugs, and perhaps there they might fall in with the ships of their company, because they were desirous of departing soon. At this the King laughed, and said that they should rest themselves, because he would direct them by a better course than that which they had hitherto followed, and that they should return to their ships, and that next day he would tell them that which would be very suitable to them. With that he gave them leave to depart. The King remained on the beach, looking on at the joy with which our people went away, shouting and sounding the trumpets, and on reaching the ships they were received with loud cries which were heard on shore. The good brothers returned highly delighted, and gave an account of what had passed to Nicolas Coelho, who was a man of good understanding; and all prayed the Lord to guide them in his holy service. Next day, in the morning, the King sent to say that his heart had rested that night with great comfort on account of what they had done; and therefore, as for an affair of the King his brother, he begged them to come on shore, be-

"Your Highness is as you know so much indebted to the King of Melinde, and for good example's sake he ought to be greatly honoured by Y. H. and favoured with advantages, since he has given and continues to give such good reception and equipment to your fleets and crews that put in there; in repayment of which your captains commit such disorders amidst the security which they find in that country, that they do him such great injuries, that the King would no longer have remained there, if he had not been sustained by letters from here [*from himself at Goa*] and empty words of which he never sees the fruit. They say that you are sending there Sancho de Pedrosa as factor: of two things one will happen, either the Moors will kill him for you, with the people who go with him, or the King will depose himself from the country; and D. Alvaro will give Your Highness the details of this."

cause it was very fitting. And because they had agreed to it, Vasco da Gama at once went in his boat, which was well equipped, and accompanied by twelve men well dressed; on the beach he was received by the King's principal gentlemen and very many people, and on reaching the King's houses he came to the door to receive Vasco da Gama, and embraced him, and the captain-major put his knee on the ground and made much courteous salutation.[1] The King asked for his brother, and he replied that he had been indisposed in the night, and for that had not come. The King sat down on a dais upon silk coverings, where he made the Captain-major sit; he made great compliments and excuses, but the King would not admit of anything unless he sat by his side; and in the presence of his people he said, "The friendship which I have established with the King, my brother, which you have conferred upon me, time will show its sincerity in my heart; and I have become fully informed of all your affairs, and of the fortune which you have experienced, which increases my desire still more to assist you and favour you in everything, as I am bound to do, since God brought you to this city of mine to give me such satisfaction as I have in my heart; and with respect to the course which you wish to make to Cambay, where the broker wishes you to go, it is not a good one, because in Cambay there are not the things which you seek for, except when other people bring them there from abroad, and they cost much, because

[1] Barros appears to have reduced these two interviews to one, for he says that according to the agreement with his brother, Vasco da Gama came alone to visit the King in one of the sambuks, whilst Paulo da Gama and Nicolas Coelho remained in the ships with the anchors apeak so as to be ready for any necessity, and that the men in the boats carried concealed arms. Barros says that when the artillery fired, the Melinde people were alarmed and were ready to return on shore, but that Vasco da Gama made a sign to cease firing and allayed their perturbation. With unworthy suspicions on one side, and panic at unusual sights on the other, it is easy to see how the misunderstandings arose at Mozambique and Mombaza.

those people make their profit upon them; but I will set you in the right way, and will give you pilots to take you to the City of Calocut, which is in the country where the pepper and ginger grows, and thither come from other parts all the other drugs, and whatever merchandise there is in these parts, of which you can buy that which you please, enough to fill the ships, or a hundred ships, if you had so many: only you need that your broker Davané consent to go with you, for he knows the price of the things, for you not to be cheated in buying and selling; and you must not give for the things more than they are worth in the country, because that is a thing which would do much injury to the other merchants, and with respect to which at times contention arises." The King then spoke to Davané the broker, who was present, and asked him if what he had said was true, and he answered that it was. Then the King begged him, since he knew the whole, to consent to go with our people to assist them, and instruct them in matters for which he was so fitted, and that the Captain-major would pay him well. The Captain-major was much pleased at what he heard the King say, and at this of the broker, he spoke to the King, and said: "Sir, the pay which I will give to Davané, and to as many as speak truly to me, I promise and swear by the life of my king, that it shall be so good that always wherever there be Portuguese, people shall come and seek them to assist them; and if Davané should go with me, and should like to return with me, he will tell you of the good pay which I will give him, because, Sire, I promise you by the life of my sovereign, that on returning from Calecut, we will come here to give an account of all that we meet with of good or of evil, because if we meet with good, to give you the pleasure which you will feel at the good you are doing us, and if evil should come to us we will come to ask you to share our grief." To which Davané replied, "Sire, I would be glad to go to Calecut and over all the world with the Portu-

guese, on account of what I have seen and understood since I have been going in their company, therefore as long as they desire I will serve them, for that the pay will be good, of that I am very sure." For which the King expressed his thanks to him. Then the Captain-major told the King that there was not to be found in the city the provisions which they wanted more than anything else, which was wheat, of which they found very little, and required a great deal, because it was the principal food of the Portuguese, with which they made biscuit. The King said that if they had any of it, to show it: and a skiff was at once sent for some to the ship, and brought it. The King looked at it, and said that there was no wheat in the country, that the merchants brought it from Cambay, and that they only brought some for his food, because it was not an article of merchandise, and that search should be made for as much as was in the city, but a person was wanted who knew how to make it. The captain-major said that he would have it made, and that he wanted it soon, because he wanted to go away at once, for this was at the end of May of the year 1498. The King replied that the ship would not have weather for the voyage till three months hence, that it would have to be in the month of August, which was the time of the monsoon for the navigation. At which the captain-major was enraged in his heart, and said he should be glad to go immediately, because he had much hope that there in Calecut he should find his companions. The King said to him that on leaving this place he had to cross the sea for the coast of India, and they could not voyage except with the monsoon, because it was winter on the opposite coast, and there were great storms in which they would be lost, and therefore they could not do anything more than wait for the monsoon; and that they should rest themselves whilst they prepared what they had need of. Upon this Vasco da Gama took leave and returned

to the ship, for it was now time to dine, so that the King was very urgent that he should dine with him. The captain-major excused himself with many compliments; and on reaching the ship, he saw a boat from the shore laden with large copper kettles and cauldrons of boiled rice, and very fat sheep roasted whole, and boiled, and much good butter, and thin cakes of wheat and rice flour, and many fowls boiled and roast, stuffed with rice inside; also much vegetables and figs, cocoa-nuts, and sugar canes; and all in such quantity that all the crews of the ships were sated. The captains sat down at once at their table, which was set out, and ate of what the King had sent, for their men to see the confidence which they placed in him, that he would not give them poison: and the first thing the King asked was whether the captains had eaten, and they told him they had, at which the King showed great satisfaction, seeing the confidence which our people had in him, of which he talked much with his people. The captain-major sent his thanks to the King for what he had sent him, and sent to him some preserved pears between two silver basins, which he cut into quarters with a knife, and with a silver-gilt fork he took some of the pear, and touched the other pieces and ate it, and covered up the basins with a napkin, and gave them over to a servant of the King who brought the food; and he sent the broker with a message to the King, that the conserves were to be taken with water after dinner. The King was much pleased with it, and ate of the conserve, taking it with the fork, also to show how much he trusted the captains. Vasco da Gama talked over with his brother and Nicolas Coelho all that had passed with the King, with which they were all much gratified, except for the long detention which they would have to undergo there, and dreading that during that time the King's goodwill might change, or that some event might happen by which that which had been accomplished might be damaged; but in this there was

nothing for it, but to commend themselves to God, for everything was in his power; and to take good precautions with the crews, that they should not go ashore, with the exception of a few sick men for recreation who would return to sleep on board. Also that the broker should always stay with the King, because in his presence there would not be any Moors who would speak ill of our people. For that reason, when the broker returned on board with the King's acknowledgments, they spoke to him at length of all that was incumbent upon him, which was as follows: "Since they had great confidence in him as in a son of their own, and they put all their repose in his hands, it was fitting that he should always be with the King, because, whilst he was present, there would be no Moor to speak evil to the King against our men. For he well knew the treachery which the sheikh of Mozambique had wished to carry out, without any cause, and so in Quiloa and Bombaza; and this only on account of the false inducements made to them by the foreign Moors, who were trading merchants, who went about those countries with their merchandise, and did not wish that others should take away their profits, and for this they were their adversaries, considering that if we traded in these countries with their merchandise we should take away their gains; and to impede this, they had put into the heads of the Sheikh of Mozambique and of the Kings of Quiloa and Bombaza, that we were robbers who went about to plunder and take other men's countries; because, if the kings and rulers of these countries were to believe them, they would do us injuries, and we might do harm to them in these countries, so that they would believe that it was the truth which they had said of us, and this reputation would run through all countries, so that we should be ill received, and should not be able to trade, which was what they desired; and since we were obliged to remain in this place until the time for departure, we had apprehensions that

some bad Moors might speak to the King from envy of our good understanding and friendship, which he had established with us, which the Moors would not venture to do if you are present, by which we shall be at rest and secure that no one will do us harm." When the Moor had heard all this, he replied: "Gentlemen, since I am a Moor, how is it that you trust to me to act faithfully by you?" The captain-major answered him: "My heart tells me that you are our true friend, and that much good has come to us from you, and therefore I put everything into your hands, and do you do that which your heart bids you." The Moor replied: "May God do to me that which I desire to do to you." The cafre, who interpreted for the Moor, said then to the captains, "Sir, this man very *taibo*;" which meant that he was very good,[1] at which the Moor was much pleased, and said that so they should name him; then from that time forward they called him Taibo. Then the captain-major gave him a gold chain of the value of thirty cruzados, and told him always to wear it, and he put it round Davané's neck. The Moor said that he would wear it when he went amongst good people, because it was a danger to show gold amongst bad people. Then they settled that he should have a testoon a-day for himself, and they gave him at once a hundred testoons, which he took and gave to Nicolas Coelho to keep for him; and with the honour of the chain, he went off to show it to the King, who rejoiced very much at seeing him so pleased, on which account he also gave him a cabaya of silk stuff, which the King took off from himself and gave to him. Cabaya is a garment such as a

[1] This incident is the probable origin of the name which has been handed down by Castanheda as that of the Moor of Calecut who spoke Spanish; he confirms indirectly Correa's account when he says, cap. xv, "he said his name was Monzaide, and this name was corrupted by the Portuguese and changed to Bomtaibo, as all those called him who went in this voyage, knowing him as a Portuguese."

pelote[1] is with us. This act was a great advantage to our people, as will be seen further on, for the good faith which this Moor always observed to our men. The crews also knew of the honour which had been shown by the King to the Moor, on seeing his chain, and the name which had been newly given him, which was Taibo, which meant good. The King had been joking with him and saying, that since they had given him the name of good, that he should be it, because he also would give him a recompense. So the good brothers and all gave great thanks to the Lord for having brought them to such a good King, and for having guided them into the good path which they were following. For this reason it was incumbent upon them to maintain all ceremony with the King, and all the forms and obligations of friendship that he would accept, in order to preserve his friendship, and that of the people of the country, and so to dispose their affairs that they should advance from good to better, and to show the King the great confidence they had in him, and always go ashore whenever he should call them, and not go beyond his will in anything. They then called the masters and pilots, aud told them that, they would have to remain there till August, when it would be the monsoon in which they would depart, and of the good state in which affairs stood, and that meantime they would equip and refit the ships with what was necessary, all which was discussed among them, and they took measures for heeling over the ships, laden just as they were, and they caulked the sides as much as they could, and the decks and npper works, and pitched it all over with pitch of the country, which was very good and with a good smell; and they made ropes of coir, which is a thread which the people of the country make of the husks which the cocoa-nuts have outside, and which is so abundant, that in the whole of India they do not use any

[1] Cabaya is the Jubbeh; pelote is a pelisse with skins inside. The gifts of the chain and dress were both honorific distinctions of more value than their actual cost.

other thread for the rigging and cables; they are soft and stretch, for which reason they are more serviceable than our cables, and in salt-water they are stronger. So our people made good hawsers and rigging with it, and new rigged the ships; and as our people had brought with them all the tools for a rope-yard, they went to do their work along the beach, and the people of the city came out to see them, and said that our people had much skill in all things, and the King also came out to see it. When they had done this work they returned on board, for no one entered into the city, and the sick men were outside of it in the gardens, of which there were many, and very luxuriant, with very good water; only the ship-boy, for the pnrchases, with an Arab slave who interpreted, went there to buy things, and cruzados and testoons were worth more than in Portugal. In order that our people should not be cheated in the price of things, the King ordered it to be cried all over the city that nobody was to sell anything to the Portuguese for more than what it was worth, and that if anyone did so he wonld send and bnrn his house, so that all observed this order. With all these proofs of friendship which the King showed to the captains, who frequently went on shore to see the King, sometimes one of them, sometimes the other, whom the King used to take to see the city, or for recreation in a large garden, there was now such security and sincere friendship, that the King desired to go and see the ships, and mentioned it to the captain-major. He said that it would be a great honour which he would be doing him and his men, since by touching the ships they would become highly honoured and fortunate. The day having been fixed, the ships were cleaned and set in order with perfumes and boughs and many flags, and the quarter-decks decked out with figured stuffs of Flanders and carpets and rugs; and the lances in stands with the points cleaned, and the naked swords and white weapons hung up, with splendid breastplates, and the arms of the

captains; and a buffet was set out with its plate, and attendants very splendidly dressed. The captains went ashore in the boats, which were also decked out, and in the boat of Paulo da Gama they took only one chair for the King: it was covered with crimson velvet, with a gold fringe and silver bosses; a carpet covered all the floor of the boat, in the bows there was a standard, forked, of white and red damask, with the cross of Christ, and a fringe and cords of gold and crimson. On reaching the beach the King entered the boat with some of his nobles; he sat down on the chair, complaining to the captains of their not having chairs to sit upon; they replied that it was not the custom for any one to sit down with the sovereign. Many boats and skiffs of the merchant ships accompanied the King, with their flags and rejoicing of musical instruments and kettle-drums, which were not heard when our trumpets sounded, as all kept silence to hear them. When they arrived at the ships, they gave a great salute with artillery and shouts. The King ordered them to go all round the ships, looking at them outside, and asking of many things. When the King went up the ladder into the ship, which the captains had had made for that purpose, they supported him with their arms with great courtesy and respect, and set the chair on the quarter-deck.[1] The King then sat down, and his people on benches covered with woollen rugs, and they were all much surprised at what they saw. The King asked about everything, and went to see the captain's cabins, which were also ornamented, and then he again sat down, where now a handsome table had been set out with dainty napkins of Flanders; and they spread upon it many conserves, and confectionery, preserved almonds which they had brought

[1] Barros says nothing of the King's coming on board the ships, but he and Camoens both say that he went round the ships. Barros says after this Da Gama was in security as to his friendship. Camoens is more in accordance with the spirit of Gaspar Correa's account.

in glass bottles, large and small olives, and cases of marmalade. The King was much surprised at what he saw, and said to his people: "If these men use silver, their King will not use anything but gold;" and he made the captains sit down, and ate, and gave to eat to his people, who were much pleased with the olives more than with anything else. They gave them wine in gilt vessels, which they did not drink, as it was not their custom; then they gave them water in silver cups, and gilt glasses. Having finished eating, the captain-major took a rich hand-basin, chased and gilt, and a ewer to match, and went to pour water on the King's hands, but he, out of courtesy, would not consent to receive it. Then one of his own people poured water, and the King washed his hands and mouth, and dried them with a napkin embroidered with gold; and on taking away the basin the Moor could not do it except with both hands, and the same with the ewer, for they were very heavy. The captain-major immediately ordered them to be emptied of the water and put into their cases, and commanded them to be given to the pages, to take them away, which the King would not admit of. The captain-major then said to him: "Sire, order these things to be taken for your service, because as they have been in your service, nobody else can make use of them, for such is our custom." For which the King thanked him very much, and was highly pleased with the ewer and basin, saying that no King in India had got such things. He was much amazed, and talked with his own people of the magnificence which our men displayed. After that they returned ashore with festivity. The King, however, went on board the other ship, which he found ornamented and dressed out in the same manner. On reaching the beach he would not consent to the captains coming out of their boats, and took leave of them. The captain-major sent the broker to take the chair to the King, which gave him great pleasure. Thus all remained so certain and secure in peace and

friendship, that ever afterwards the captains went ashore and came away, and so also the ships' crews, as if they were natives of the place; and since it seemed to the captains that it would be more fitting also to give something to the King's confidantes and to his magistrates, of whom there were three principal ones: a minister of the land revenue, and another of the sea, and a minister of justice, they agreed to send to each five ells of yellow satin and five ells of green Rouen cloth, and four scarlet cloth caps, and begging pardon for the little they sent; with this they were very much pleased and satisfied, and went to tell the King of it, who said: "Nothing is wanting to these men to achieve everything just as they desire."[1]

CHAPTER XV.

How the King of Melinde bade farewell to our people, and of the equipment which he gave them; after which they went and reached the port of Calecut on the coast of India.

THE time having now arrived for the departure of the ships, which was with the new moon of July of 1498;[2] the King, who took great care of all that was requisite for our men, had got ready for them two pilots, the best that could be found: and he sent to call the captains, and told them that

[1] Barros says that some gentiles from Cambay, whom they call Banians, came to see the ships, and that seeing a picture of Our Lady in Da Gama's cabin, and that the Portuguese reverenced it, they made adoration to it with much more ceremony; and next day they returned to it. The Banians and Portuguese were mutually pleased, and the Portuguese imagined that these people were samples of some Christian community in India from the times of St. Thomas.

[2] About the 15th July. Barros says that among the people who came to visit the ships was a Moor of Guzarat, named Malemo Cana, who, both from the satisfaction which he felt at the intercourse with the Portuguese, and to please the King of Melinde who was looking for a pilot for them,

it was now the season for departure. They replied that they were quite ready, and had got their water on board, as the Mozambique pilot had told them to do so. The King sent to call him to his presence, and asked him if he wished to go with our people. He said yes, since they treated him very well. At which the King was pleased and said that when he returned he would show him great favours, and that he was glad of his going, so as to assist in case of any of the pilots whom he sent falling ill or dying. The King also recommended the captains to treat him well, since of

accepted to go with them. Vasco da Gama, after talking to him, was very well satisfied with his knowledge, especially after he had shown him a map of all the coast of India, with the bearings laid down after the manner of the Moors, which was with meridians and parallels very small (or close together), without other bearings of the compass; because, as the squares of those meridians and parallels were very small, the coast was laid down by those two bearings of north and south, and east and west, with great certainty, without that multiplication of bearings of the points of the compass usual in our maps, which serves as the root of the others. When Vasco da Gama showed him the great wooden astrolabe which he had brought and others of metal with which he took the sun's altitude, the Moor was not surprised, and said that some pilots of the Red Sea used brass instruments of a triangular shape, and quadrants with which they took the sun's altitude, and chiefly that of a star which they most made use of for their navigation. But that he and the Cambay mariners and those of all India made their navigation by certain stars both in the north and in the south, and also by other notable stars which traversed the middle of the heavens from east to west, and they did not take their distance with instruments like those, but with another which he used; which he brought at once to show, which was of three tables (or plates). Since we have treated of its shape and use in our geography in the chapter of instruments of navigation, it is sufficient to say here that in that operation they use an instrument which we now use, and which mariners call *balhestilla*, the cross staff (or Jacob's staff), and in that chapter an account of it and its inventors will be given.

Osorio, in speaking of Gama's arrival at Mozambique, describes the compasses used by the Arab mariners at great length; he also says they used quadrants for observing the sun's distance from the equinoctial line; and says: "Finally, they were instructed in so many of the arts of navigation, that they did not yield much to the Portuguese mariners in the science and practice of maritime matters."

his own will he wished to serve them; which they promised him they would do. They continued conversing with the King, who gave them much information as to what they ought to do in the matter of buying and selling; and he recommended them, above all, to speak with great gentleness, and to dissemble as much as they could whenever they fell in with bad and arrogant men; and to do no harm, except when they had received so much themselves that all people should rejoice at their revenging themselves; and, whilst trading to take care not to spoil the wares, which was a most important matter, and would cause them much harm, which the foreign merchants would seek to do them; and since the people of Calecut did not observe much good faith, they should not trust themselves without safe hostages. There were many other things as to which the King advised them like a true friend, also that the Moorish broker knew the weights and measures, and he had full confidence that he would act with all sincerity, and since he now understood a good deal of our language, he was the greatest benefit they could possess. As it was now the hour, they went to dine with the King, who gave them a great banquet, and sent boats laden with food to the ships, enough for all the crews. Having ended dining, they rested a little, and as the pilots said they must sail in three days' time, the captains ordered water to be taken in, and to fill large tanks,[1] which they had already placed in the ships, for as they had few staves for casks, the King had ordered them to be made by the carpenters of the country. They had made the tanks with planks joined and sewn together strongly with coir thread, and caulked with pitch; they were pitched in such a way that they were more watertight than casks, and they were made to measure to fit the ships below deck, and placed at the foot of the main mast. Each one contained thirty pipes of water, and each ship made four tanks, which was a very useful equipment,

[1] Tanques.

for the ships were made freer so as to be able to take in more cargo. The captains remained with the King till night, when they went to the ships, and told the masters to dispose matters as the pilots wished to sail in three days, and they rejoiced very much since it was the day of the Transfiguration of our Lord.[1] Next day they went on shore to stay with the King, who begged them very much always to be with him until their departure. Whilst they were with the King, he entreated them very earnestly to promise him to return thither, and not to go to Portugal without his message, which he wished to send to the King, his brother, with his letters of sincere friendship; which friendship he should always maintain with him, so that he should be a greater King than any of those of India. The captains replied that they would be very well pleased to do so, and so they promised to do, and swore by the head of the King their Sovereign, even though they should find their fleet at Calecut, because that was the most certain and direct way to return to Portugal; and this they assured so much that the King trusted to it. They then said that:—"Since the sea and land had their perils, according as the Lord pleased, here we will leave you a mark which shall always remain in this city of yours for your remembrance, and that of all as many as shall descend from you, which will be the name of our king written on a stone, as his sign which is placed in all the countries of his friends, and it is placed in commemoration of his sincerity." At this the King was much pleased, and said that they should bring the stone at once, and that he wished it to stand at the gate of his palace.[2] They said, that standing inside the city it would not be seen by the

[1] August 6.

[2] Barros says that before sailing they placed, with the King's consent, a landmark in the town, with the name of Sancto Espirito, saying that it was in testimony of the peace and friendship which they had established with him.

people who arrived at this port, and for that reason it ought to be where it could be seen by all. To which the King replied, that he much wished to see it, and that they might set it up where they liked. Then they gave orders to bring from the ship a column of white marble, with its pedestal and capital, which bore upon it the escutcheon of the *Quinas* with the crown; and on the other side another escutcheon with a sphere; and at the foot letters engraved in the stone and gilt within, which said, "King Manoel." Of these columns they had brought six, which the King had ordered to be made, and had commanded the captains to set them up in the countries where they established friendship, that the remembrance of it might last for ever, and that they might be seen by all nations that might come later. When the column had been brought and the King had seen it, he complained to the captains of their not having set it up as soon as they had arrived; they answered, that they had not done so because their King had commanded them not to set up that stone except in a country in which they knew true friendship and sincere love, such as you, Sire, have shewn us out of the greatness of your goodness."[1] The King experienced much satisfaction at these words of the captain-major, and told him at once to set up the stone wherever they liked; so they went and placed it on a hill which there was above the port on the left hand side of the city, a place that was very conspicuous, so that the column could be seen from all the sea.[2] The King sent stonemasons to assist in

[1] This change of persons is thus in the original.

[2] When Pedralvares Cabral, who sailed from Lisbon on the 9th March, 1500, reached Melinde, the King of Melinde had been obliged to remove the column on account of the hostility it excited amongst his neighbours; he conducted Joan de Sá by the hand, and showed him the column put by safely in a room, and the arms had been freshly coloured so that it looked like new.

Horsburgh's *India Directory* says, vol. i, p. 281:—"The Pagoda [or sea-mark on an island five miles NW by N of Melinde] is called by the

setting it up; and when it was placed it was solemnised by the prayers of three priests who were in the ships, and with the trumpets and a salute of artillery from the ships, at which the King felt much pleasure. Then the captains asked leave of the King to say their prayers there to God before their departure, as they always did thus, and as it was outside of the city. To this the King answered that, "outside or within the city, wherever they pleased they should do it as if they were in their own country of Portugal." Therefore they at once set up a tent with a sail at the foot of the column, and within they disposed an altar with a rich altar-cloth, and placed an effigy of our Lady of Mercy before which mass was said, and they all communicated, for they had already confessed on board the ships. This having been ended in a short space of time, they got back to the boats; and the people of the city had been looking on much amazed, and our adoration seemed to them very good. Then all went to the King, where the captains also went as they were to dine soon. Then the King ordered the pilots to come, and delivered them over to the captain-major, telling him to treat them well because their wives and children remained at Melindo until they returned. Upon this the captain-major sent to the ships, and they brought him a hundred gold cruzados, and he, in the presence of the King, gave to each of the pilots fifty cruzados to leave for their wives, because when they returned thither they would pay them for the service they had rendered. This was looked upon by all as much liberality. The king was pleased at seeing the cruzados, and took them and gave their value to the

late Admiral Owen, Vasco da Gama's Pillar, and according to him is built on the north end of a flat peninsular rock, which is about a quarter of a mile long from NNE to SSW, and one hundred and fifty yards wide. The Pillar is in lat. 3° 13′ S, lon. 40° 11′ E." This is probably another landmark erected since Gama's time; it certainly occupies a different site from the one erected by Gama.

pilots in money of the country; and Vasco da Gama, noticing it, immediately sent to the ship for ten portugueses of gold, which he presented to the King in a handkerchief, saying, that that money was called Portuguese, and that each one was worth ten of the smaller coins, and that he should keep them, and with them always remember the name of Portuguese. The King was much gratified, and said, that the name of the Portuguese would never leave his heart where he preserved it, except when he died. The captain-major then presented to the king the ship-boy of the purchases, who was one of the banished, and said that he left that man with him, because if any ship came from Portugal, for it might be that some one of his fleet might come, this man would relate to them all the benefits and favours which the King had bestowed upon them, and also they would leave it all written down with their signatures, and if the ship-boy wished to go to any other place, to let him go wherever he wished, because no one could serve well without willingness. The King granted this and was pleased; then the captain-major spoke to the ship-boy, and told him that he left him there as the King was so great a friend of the Portuguese, and that his life was quite safe, and that he was to do his best to see and learn about every thing, and if he wished it he might go to other countries to see and learn all things; because, if he lived and returned to Portugal, for this service he would make him a gentleman of the king's household, both him and any other that so remained behind doing such service to the King; and of this he gave him his warrant signed; and he also gave him fifty testoons. This same day, in the evening, the pilots went on board the ships, one with Paulo da Gama, and the other with Vasco da Gama, and with him the Mozambique pilot, and they gave them cabins in which to stow their property. Then the King sent boats to the ships laden with biscuit, which he had ordered to be made in the Moorish fashion, which is like mouthfuls of bread, and

much rice, and butter, cocoa-nuts, sheep salted whole like salt meat, and others alive, many fowls and vegetables, separately for each ship, and in great abundance, and much sugar in powder in sacks. And as they were equipped with everything and ready to set sail next day, which was the day of the Transfiguration of our Lord (August 6th),[1] they took leave of the King, who could not endure it, and embarked in his boat and went with them, saying very affectionate things, with which he bade farewell to each of them at the side of the ships; and he remained looking at them for a space as they hoisted in the boats; and bidding each other farewell the trumpets sounded, and all the crews gave a shout of "Lord God have mercy, farewell!" after which night fell. The next day they arose with the ships dressed out with flags, and as it was a fine day they loosed the sails, sounding the trumpets with much joy, all upon their knees, giving great praise to the Lord for so much favour as He had shewn to them in their affairs. Sailing with a fair wind in twenty days they got sight of land,[2] which the pilots

[1] Barros says they sailed from Melinde on the 24th of April.

[2] Barros says, "Crossing that great gulf of seven hundred leagues, which there are from one coast to the other, in the space of twenty-two days, the first land which they touched was below the city of Calecut, a matter of two leagues." This does not disagree with Correa's statement, which would make about twenty-two days to Calecut.

Camoens, Canto VI, 92.

Já a manhãa clara dava nos outeiros,
Por onde o Ganges murmurando soa,
Quando da excelsa gavea os marinheiros
Enxergârão terra alta pella proa.
Já fóra de tormenta, e dos primeiros
Mares, o temor vão do peito voa,
Disse alegre o Piloto Melindano,
"Terra he de Calecut," se não me engano.

93.

Esta he por certo a terra que buscais
Da verdadeira India, que apparece,
E se do mundo mais não desejais,
Vosso trabalho longo aqui fenece.

foretold before that they saw it, this was a great mountain which is on the coast of India, in the kingdom of Cananor, which the people of the country in their language call the mountain Delielly, and they call it of the rat, and they call it Mount Dely, because in this mountain there were so many rats that they never could make a village there. As it was the custom to give the fees of good news to the pilots when they see the land, they gave to each of the pilots a robe of red cloth, and ten testoons; and they went on approaching the land until they saw the beach, and they ran along it and passed within sight of a large town of thatched houses inside a bay, which the pilots said was named Cananor, where many skiffs were going about fishing; and several came near to see the ships and were much surprised, and went ashore to relate that these ships had so much rigging and so many sails and white men; which having been told to the King he sent some men of his own to see, but the ships had already gone far, and they did not go.

Sofrer aqui não póde o Gama mais,
De ledo em ver que a terra se conhece,
Os giolhos no chão, as mãos ao ceo,
A merce grande a Deos agradeceo.

92 and 93.

Now morn, serene in dappled grey, arose
O'er the fair lawns where murmuring Ganges flows;
Pale shone the wave beneath the golden beam;
Blue o'er the silver flood Malabria's mountains gleam:
The sailors on the maintop's airy round,
Land, land, aloud with waving hands resound;
Aloud the pilot of Melinda cries,
Behold, O chief, the shores of India rise!
Elate the joyful crew on tip-toe trod,
And every breast with swelling raptures glow'd;
Gama's great soul confest the rushing swell,
Prone on his manly knees the hero fell,
Oh bounteous heaven, he cries, and spreads his hands
To bounteous heaven, while boundless joy commands
No farther word to flow. *Mickle.*

In this country of India they are much addicted to soothsayers and diviners, especially on this coast of India, which is named conntry of Malabar, and they call these diviners Canayates. According to what was known later, there had been in this conntry of Cananor a diviner so diabolical in whom they believed so much, that they wrote down all that he said, and preserved it like prophecies which would come to pass. They held a legend from him in which it was said that the whole of India would be taken and ruled over by a very distant king, who had white people, who would do great harm to those who were not their friends; and this was to happen a long time later, and he left signs of when it would be. In conseqnence of the great disturbance caused by the sight of these ships, the King was very desirous of knowing what they were; and he spoke to his diviners, asking them to tell him what ships were those and whence they came. The diviners conversed with their devils, and told him that the ships belonged to a great king and came from very far, and according to what they found written, these were the people who were to seize India by war and peace, as they had already told him many times, because the period which had been written down was concluded. The King, much moved, asked them whether his kingdom would receive any injury. They replied that our people would do no harm except to those who did it to them. Upon this the King became very thoughtful, and talked of this frequently with his people, who very mnch contradicted what the diviners said, and they told him not to believe them, for in this they never hit upon the truth, because at the time that our ships arrived more than four hundred years had elapsed since in one year more than eight hundred sail of large and small ships had come to India from the parts of Malacca and China and the Lequeos, with people of many nations, and all laden with merchandise of great value which they brought for sale: and they had come to Calecut, and had run along

the coast and had gone to Cambay; and they were so numerous that they had filled the country and had settled as dwellers in all the towns of the sea-coast, where they were received and welcomed like merchants, which they were. When those people arrived thus on the coast of Malabar everybody considered that they were the people whom their prophecies mentioned as those who would take India, and they had inquired of the diviners, who, looking at their records, told them not to be afraid, since the time when India was to be taken had not yet arrived. Thus it was; for those people had gone all over India, trading and selling their merchandise during many years, in which many of them married and established their abodes and became naturalised in the country, and mixed up with the inhabitants of the country. Many others returned to their own country, and as no more ever arrived, they went on diminishing in number until they came to an end; but a numerous progeny remained from them; and because they were people of large property, and numerous in the towns where they resided, they had a quarter set apart, like as in Portugal and Castile in other times there used to be Jewries and Moorish quarters set apart; and they built houses for their idols, sumptuous edifices, which are to be seen at this day; and in the space of a hundred years there did not remain one. All this they had got thus recorded in their legends; and since at that time so many people did not take India, how was it to be taken now by people who came from such a distance, and who would not come in sufficient numbers to be able to conquer it? and they mocked at what the soothsayers said. But the King, who put great trust in them, and whose heart divined what was going to come to pass, spoke to a soothsayer in whom he placed great belief, and told him to look and see upon what grounds he made his assertions; because if it was as he had been saying, he would labour to establish peace with the Portuguese in such a manner as to make his king-

dom secure for ever, and in this he would spend part of his treasure. The soothsayer answered, "Sire, I am telling you the truth, that these men will not bring so many people with them to seize upon countries and realms, but those who come, in whatever number they may be, will be able to prevail more with their ships than all as many as go upon the sea, on which account they must be masters of the sea, in which case, of necessity the people of the land must obey them; and when they shall have become powerful at sea, what will happen to your kingdom if you have not secured peace with them? I tell you the truth, and you will see it with your eyes; and now follow what counsel you please." The King answered: "My heart tells me that you are speaking the truth, and I will do that which is incumbent upon me." The diviner said to him: "If before five years you do not see that I have told you the truth, order my head to be cut off." Upon which the King remained quite convinced, and determined in his heart to establish with the Portuguese all the peace and friendship that was possible. And because soon after news arrived that our people were at the city of Calecut, which is twelve leagues from Cananor, the King sent men to Calecut who always came to tell him of what happened there to our men.

CHAPTER XVI.

How the ships arrived at the city of Calecut, and in which is related all that happened to them there until they again departed.

THE ships continued running along the coast close to land, for the coast was clear, without banks against which to take precautions; and the pilots gave orders to cast anchor in a place which made a sort of bay, because there commenced the city of Calecut. This town is named Capocate,[1] and on

[1] Capucad is two leagues from Calicut. Barros says the first land

anchoring there a multitude of people flocked to the beach, all dark and naked, only covered with cloths half way down the thigh, with which they concealed their nakedness. All were much amazed at seeing what they had never before seen. When news was taken to the King he also came to look at the ships, for all the wonder was at seeing so many ropes and so many sails, and because the ships arrived when the sun was almost set; and at night they lowered out the boats, and Vasco da Gama went at once for his brother and Nicolas Coelho, and they remained together conversing upon the method of dealing with this King, since here was the principal end which they had come to seek; it seemed to him that it would be best to comport himself as an ambassador, and to make him his present, always saying that they had been separated from another fleet which they came to seek for there, and that the captain-major had come and brought him letters from the King. This they agreed upon together, and that Vasco da Gama should go on shore with that message sent by the captain-major, who carried the standard at the peak; they also talked of the manner in which these things were to be spoken of. When all was well decided upon, Nicolas Coelho returned to the ship, and Vasco da Gama remained with his brother, talking with the Moor Taibo (the broker), who told him not to go on shore without hostages; that such was the custom of men who newly arrived at the country: and the Moor said that this King of Calecut was the greatest king of all the coast of India, and on that account was very vain, and he was very rich from the great trade he had in this city. The next day

they touched was two leagues below Calicut; and that they arrived there on the 20th of May, in the beginning of winter on that coast, so that there was not much traffic in the port, and the foreigners had gone away, and the inhabitants were surprised at the ships coming in that season. He also says that after two days the ships went to Capocate, a port near there, where Gama waited two days for the King's message.

at dawn a great many skiffs came out with fishing nets, passing near the ships, and Vasco da Gama told the Moorish pilots to call the fishermen to sell some fish, since they knew the language of the country. When they heard themselves called by the pilots they came at once and entered the ship, and gave a quantity of fish like sardines, which they called *canalinhas*, and they gave a great many for a vintin, which they bit with their teeth to see if it was silver. Vasco da Gama told the pilots to say, if the fishermen asked, that they came from Melinde, and had arrived there parted company, and were going in search of other ships of their company which they thought they might find there. When the fishermen returned on shore many people asked questions of them, as they had seen them go on board the ship. They related what had been said to them, and shewed the coin which had been given them for the fish. All this was related to the King, who waited for our people to send to him. The King was very desirous that the Portuguese should send on shore, and he ordered the fishermen to go to the ships to sell their fish, or anything they liked, and to inquire about everything. This they did, and brought many fowls, figs, and cocoa-nuts, and there came many of them. Vasco da Gama ordered that no one should buy except the pilots and Moors, whom he ordered to pay according to the will of the owners, and to offend them in nothing. Many skiffs went to the other ship, and there also no one bought except the pilot, with vintins, with which the captains here paid the crew, each man twenty cruzados. The Moor and the pilots said to the captain-major, that he should send on shore; he replied, that he should not land in a foreign country without leave from its owner, as he had acted in Melinde. At this conjuncture there came a boat full of wood to sell; and as there was much wood in the ship they did not take it, and as they were going away the captain-major ordered them to be called, and there were six men came in the boat, and he

ordered a vintin to be given to each man, and that they might go their way, as there was no need of the wood. The Moor asked why he gave them money, since they did not take the wood. And the captain-major replied, "They are poor men and come to sell their wood, and as it was not bought they were going away discontented, and on that account he had ordered money to be given them, that their labour might not have been in vain; for he was thus accustomed to pay well all those who did good to him." At this the Moor and the pilots were surprised; and so they repeated it to the black people who had brought the wood, so that they went ashore very much pleased, and related this as a great wonder. It was at once told to the King, who, in in talking with his own people, vaunted much the liberality and goodness of the Portuguese; on the King's questioning the fishermen about everything, they told him all that they had heard from the pilots, and that they did not venture to come out on shore because they had not got the King's leave to do so, and that they came from Melinde, and were going about lost in search of their company, which they had expected to find here; and as they had not found them they were intending to go away. Thus things remained for three days; and as the fishermen, who came back again, said that they had related everything to the King; and as the captain-major saw that the King sent no message, he asked the Moor his opinion of what they ought to do, because they did not know the customs of these people. The Moor told him that he ought to send a message to the King and say what he wanted. This seemed good, and the Moor was ordered to get ready to go on shore; and at this time there came from the shore a large boat in which there was a servant of the King, a gentleman of birth, whom they call Nair: he came without clothes, except a white cloth which covered him from the middle to half the thighs; he had a very thin round shield, with slings of wood and vermilion, which

glittered very much, and a naked sword with an iron hilt: the sword was short, of an ell's length,[1] and broad at the point; his hair was pressed down upon his head; he was a very dark man, and very well made. On reaching the side of the ship, without coming on board, he asked for the captain; and the captain-major answered him that he was the person he wanted; that he was the captain. The Nair then said that the King had sent him to say that they should send word who they were, and what they wanted in his port. The captain-major answered that he had not sent his message because he had not yet had the King's leave to do so, but now that he had ordered it he would do so. Then the Moor went with the Nair[2] with full instructions as to what he was to say. The King, on seeing the messenger, and that he was a Moor, imagined that our men were so also. The Moor said to the King, "Sire, the captain-major of those ships says: 'I did not send you a message during these days because I had not got your leave to do so;' but now that you have sent it by your servant, he has sent me, and he says that he is the slave of the greatest Christian King in the world; who had sent a fleet of fifty ships which he had ordered to go to a country to take cargo of pepper and drugs, in exchange for rich merchandise and gold and silver which he sent; and that when they found the country where they could take in the cargo which they were seeking for, they should establish a firm peace and good relations with the king of it, which should last for ever; and he was the ambassador who was to go on shore, because the captain-major would not leave the ship to go ashore. And after their setting out on their voyage a storm at sea had separated them from the rest of the fleet, and they knew nothing of it and had been going about to many places for two years like

[1] *Covado*, three quarters of a yard, a Flemish ell.

[2] Barros says Gama sent one of the convicts with the Moorish pilot to take the first message.

lost people; and they had been to Melinde, where there is a very noble king to whom they had related this fortune of theirs. As he had taken compassion upon them, he had said that he would give them pilots who would bring them to the country where the pepper grew, and there were many drugs, for which we thanked him very much; and the pilots brought us here where we now are; and we have come with great hopes that since in this city of yours there are pepper and drugs, we should fall in with our fleet; and since we have not fonnd it we are sorrowful, for we do not know what we are to do; and this is the reason of our coming and what we seek." When the King heard all this message he was much surprised; and in talking of it with his own people, he said that it would be well, since our people had put into port, to know what merchandise they wished to buy, and what merchandise they had brought to sell? What the King said seemed good to all; and his chief factor, who is the director of the exchequer of the sea-trade, then asked the Moor how it was that he was going about with the Christians. The Moor related to him how it was, and in what place they had taken him on board, and how since he had been with the Portuguese he had seen them act as such good men; and because they paid him well he would serve them and go with them to the end of the world if they wished it. He also gave them a long account of the magnificence with which they had acted towards the King of Melinde, and the valuable things which they had given him; upon which the King felt a great longing to obtain as much from our people: and he sent to say to the captain-major that he grieved much for his ill-fortune, and rejoiced at his fleet having arrived at his port; that as to the cargo which he was going in search of, he would fill his ships with as much pepper and drugs as they wished for, and would give him on payment whatever there was in the city; and in the meantime they might do what they pleased. The King also sent the Moor

in a boat with many figs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts fresh and dry. The good brothers were much pleased on hearing the King's message, and gave great praise to the Lord. Having taken counsel together, they sent many thanks to the King for his reply, and for the refreshments, and said that they accepted it out of courtesy, but that they could neither accept, nor buy, nor sell anything without first establishing peace and friendship; because if they did not first make that agreement they could do nothing, for such were the regulations received from their King, and if they did not act in that manner he would order their heads to be cut off: for that reason they would do nothing and would return thence if they did not first establish peace, for their King did not wish to trade except with his friends. And if he wished to know the reason of first establishing peace, they would give the King's own embassage which he had sent to be given to the King who should give them the cargo; and if he was pleased to admit of this he should send hostages, as was the custom in a new country, for the captain-major to go on shore and give an explanation of his embassage.

The city of Calecut, as it was the principal one of India, on account of its great trade since ancient times, was all inhabited by foreign and native Moors, the richest that there were in all India. There were Moors of Grand Cairo who brought large fleets of many ships with much trade of valuable goods, which they brought from Mecca, and they took back in return pepper and drugs, and all the other richest merchandise of India, with which they acquired great wealth; and the people who are natives of the country have no profit from it nor income, but only enough to sustain themselves with; this sustenance is of little cost as I will explain in its place in this book. As they are ill off for wealth they are much subject to the Moors who are so rich, and this especially in the sea-ports, in which they are rich from the great resources which they draw from trade with the Moors; from

this trade the Moors were very powerful, and had so established and ingratiated themselves in the countries of the sea ports, that they were more influential and respected than the natives themselves, so that many of the heathen became Moors, in such manner that they were more people than the natives, by a diabolical method which the Moors found;[1] because in this region of Malabar the race of gentlemen is called Nairs, who are the people of war: they are people who are very refined in blood and customs, and separated from all other low people, and so much do they value themselves that no one of them ever turned Moor; only the low people turned Moors, who worked in the bush and in the fields. And these people are so accursed that they cannot go by any road without shouting, so that the Nairs may not come up suddenly and meet them, because they kill them at once, for they always carry their arms, and these low people may not carry arms to defend themselves; and when they go along thus shouting if any Nair shouts to them they at once get into the bush very far from the road. The Moors, understanding that it was a good way to increase their sect, said to the King, and to the rulers of the places in which they traded, that they met with great difficulties with their merchandise, because they had not got labourers to cart it from one point to another, because the labourers, being low people, could not go amongst other people, as the Nairs would kill them whenever they met them, and therefore they would esteem it a favour if those of the low people who might turn

[1] The diabolical method of the Moors was to set their faces against distinctions of race, whilst the Portuguese adopted them, and have perpetuated them by the word of their own language which expresses race, namely *casta*. Though the Arabs had come to Malabar and established their trade there six hundred years before, they had not thought of seizing the country; and when they converted the King Serna-Perimal, he divided his kingdom among his relations, and went away, after abandoning his state and wealth, to die at Mekkah. See *The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, p. 102; and Camoens, Canto VII, 32-35.

Moors should be able to go freely wherever they pleased; since, being Moors, they would then be outside of the Malabar religion and usages, and that they might be able to touch all sorts of people; because if this was not agreed to they would not be able to transport their goods to sell them in their provinces. At the same time giving some fees to the magistrates and confidantes of the King, they succeeded in getting this consented to. On which account these low people [desired] to enjoy so great an advantage, because they were such accursed people that they lived in the bush and in fields, where they ate nothing but herbs and land crabs, and by becoming Moors they could go where they liked, and gain their livelihood, and eat as they pleased. When they became Moors the Moors gave them cloths and robes with which to clothe themselves, and so many of them became Moors and were converted to the religion of Mohammed, and they increased so mnch in numbers that all the country became full of them; which caused these Moors to be very influential and powerful by their trade through all the countries, and especially in this country of Malabar, and above all in this city of Calecut, where they had their principal port for shipping pepper and drugs, which they transported to Mecca, and spread over Turkey, and thence to all the provinces of Christendom by exchange from country to country.

As these things were so, the Moors of Calecut, in which city there were many who were acquainted with the affairs of Christendom, perceived the great inconvenience and certain destruction which would fall upon them and upon their trade, if the Portuguese should establish trade in Calecut, which they would immediately afterwards do throughout all the Indian countries; and, taking counsel amongst one another, they all agreed that with all the power of themselves and their property, they should get the Portuguese turned out of the country, which they would also do in all

the other parts, in such manner as that they should not be able to trade nor profit, nor establish men at arms, whom the Portuguese would be unable to maintain because they were from a very distant country; and in navigating to India the sea would swallow up so many that a sufficient number of them never could come to India to make themselves masters of it, and take possession of countries, and deprive them of the great footing and powers which they held in India. With these calculations thus set on foot among themselves, they wrote and made known their determination to all the others of all the coast of India, who were very ready to give all necessary assistance in person and property. With this design they spoke to the King's chief factor, who was the principal overseer of his exchequer, also to the King's *Gosil*, who is the minister of justice; and they spoke to him in secret, after the manner of true friends, saying that they, as sincere friends of the King, for whose service they would spend their lives and property, told him, that they as persons so deserving of credit would tell the King and warn him to take precautions and consideration as to what he did with the Portuguese, because, without any doubt, they were men who had got such wealth in their own country, that they did not undergo all this labour for trade, but only to conquer countries and acquire honours by arms, and that first they had been sent to see and spy, in order later to come and take these countries; for which reason it might doubtless be believed that these who came in these ships did not come for anything else, except under the cloak of merchants who come to establish peace and trade, and bring presents and feigned pretences only to see and spy, and afterwards come to conquer and plunder; and this was easily seen, since they came from so distant a country with two ships to trade and take in cargo; therefore they (the Moors) had given information and warning to the King that he might look to what he should do with the Portuguese. The

Gozil and overseer of the revenue, being wary men, at once occupied themselves with this matter, and conversing together upon it, they understood that what the Moors had said was all because they did not wish to see other traders who wonld injnre their commerce, and that the fears which they were instilling were all emptiness and wind, because there was no power in the world sufficiently great to take Calecut, in which there were two hundred thousand men available for war. So the two talked the matter well over together, with the hopes which they entertained of the fees which the Moors gave them, all which they might gain according to the proceedings which they took in this affair; and they gave some hints to the Moors that they thought well of what they had said, and that they would from affection for them do everything to prevent the Portuguese injnring their commerce. Upon this the Moors, being much pleased, at once gave them large presents and secured their goodwill. For it is notorious that officials take more pleasure in bribes than in the appointmonts of their offices. With this foundation, which the Moors established by this means, they caused later to the Portugnese great evils and hardships, as will be seen further on. This ovorseer of the treasury and the Gozil were made firm in their own interests, of deriving for their profit all that they could obtain from the Moors, which was the chief object; also that of showing to the King that they took good care to look after the business of his service, and what was advantageons to him; and they touched upon this matter to the King, without giving him an account of the information which the Moors had given them. The King was very vain on account of his mnch grandeur, and covetous by disposition. He said to his people, that in the whole world there was no power which he feared so as to omit carrying out his will, so that whoever came to him with deceit would get nothing for his pains. Whilst he was under the influence of this fancy, the Moor came with the captain-

major's message, as has been related above; when the King heard it he talked it over with his confidantes, taking their opinions as to what he ought to do; and they said they would consider about it, since affairs done in a hurry for the most part were done wrong, and besides that the condition of kings was to do their business leisurely.[1] This, therefore, seeming good to the King, he ordered the Moor to come, and told him to return to the captain-major and that he would send him a reply; but if, meanwhile, he required anything on shore, he might send in security to purchase it. It seemed to the captain-major that these were State fashions of the King for giving his reply; but he thought it advantageous to send on shore a man who, in the guise of a buyer, might see the people of the city. For this purpose he sent one Joaõ Nũz (Nunez),[2] a banished man, who could speak Arabic and Hebrew, and who was a new Christian, and a man of subtle understanding, who already understood the speech of the Moor, but could not speak it; and Vasco da Gama spoke to him and told him to go ashore with the Moor with money to buy things to eat, and to look well all over the city, and at the manner of the inhabitants, and to listen well to what he heard; and not to speak nor answer questions, and to see what things were sold, and ask the Moor about the prices, and not buy anything except things to eat, and to return to sleep on board the ship; having given him full instructions as to what was requisite, he despatched him, and told the Moor to go ashore and always take Joaõ Nũz with him, and not let him separate from him, and to shew him all the things which were sold in the shops, which were articles not included in merchandise, and which he would have pleasure in carrying back to Portugal to show,

[1] This speech seems very genuine, and much resembles many passages in the sixth chapter of the Fables of Pilpay or Humayún Nameh, on the evils of precipitation.

[2] The printed edition calls him Joan Martins.

but not to buy anything, because he could not buy them except after peace and trade had been established. When these two landed and the people saw a Portuguese, they crowded so much to see him that they smothered him, at which the Moor saw himself so molested that he went to the house of the Gozil, who was much pleased at seeing Joan Nũz: and having learned from the Moor how they had been importuned, he sent with them a servant of his, one of the Nairs, to make the people keep off, so that they went about without restraint from the people. The Moors seeing Joan Nũz, and some of them having spoken to him without his answering, arranged with the Gozil that he should not let him go at night to the ship, but that he should stay on shore, because they would find some one to talk to him and learn from him what they desired. The Moor and the Portuguese on going to the beach did not find a skiff, for it was already night, and returned to the house of the Gozil, and proceeding thither they fell in with a Moor who spoke to Joan Nũz in Castilian, as if he was amazed at seeing him, and he said to him, "Brother, God preserve you."[1] Joan Nũz replied,

[1] Camoens, Canto VII, 24.

Entre a gente, que a vel-o concorria,
Se chega hum Mahometa, que nascido
Fôra na região da Berberia,
Lá onde fôra Anteo obedecido:
Ou pela visinhança já teria
O reino Lusitano conhecido,
Ou foi já assinalado de seu ferro,
Fortuna o trouxe a tão longo desterro.

25.

Em vendo o mensageiro, com jocundo
Rosto, como quem sabe a lingua Hispana,
Lhe disse: Quem te trouxe á estoutro mundo,
Tão longe da tua patria Lusitana?
Abrindo, lhe responde, o mar profundo,
Por onde nunca veio gente humana,
Vimos buscar do Indo a grão corrente,
Por onde a Lei divina se accrescente.

"God give you health," and he felt great delight at hearing him speak thus. The Castilian inquired where he was going? they told him that they could not find a boat to go on board, and were therefore going to sleep at the house of the Gozil. The Castilian then said that they should not go there, that he had a house in which he would rejoice that they should

26.

Espantado ficou da grão viagem
O Mouro, que Monçaide se chamava,
Ouvindo as oppressões, que na passagem
Do mar, o Lusitano lhe contava:
Mas vendo em fim, que a força da mensagem
Só para o Rei da terra relevava,
Lhe diz, que estava fóra da cidade,
Mas de caminho pouca quantidade:

27.

E que, em tanto que a nova lhe chegasse
De sua estranha vinda, se queria,
Na sua pobre casa repousasse,
E do manjar da terra comeria:
E, despois que se hum pouco recreasse,
Com elle para a armada tornaria;
Que alegria não pode ser tamanha,
Que achar gente visinha em terra estranha.

28.

O Portuguez acceita de vontade
O que o ledo Monçaide lhe offerece:
Como se longa fôra já a amizade,
Com elle come e bebe, e lhe obedece:
Ambos se tornam logo da cidade
Para a frota, que o Mouro bem conhece,
Sobem á capitaina, e toda a gente
Monçaide recebeo benignamente.

29.

O capitão o abraça em cabo ledo,
Ouvindo clara a lingua de Castella,
Junto de si o assenta, e prompto e quedo,
Pela terra pergunta, e cousas della.
Qual se ajuntava em Rhódope o arvoredo,
Só por ouvir o amante da donzella
Eurydice, tocando a lyra de ouro,
Tal a gente se ajunta á ouvir o Mouro.

sleep, and eat as much as they pleased. They thanked him, and when about to go with him, the Nair would not permit it unless they first went to the house of the Gozil, where the Castilian went with them; there the Castilian told the Gozil that he wished to take those guests to his house, if he would give him permission; and the Gozil said he might. Then

30.

Elle commeça: Ó gente, que a natura
Visinha fez de meu paterno ninho,
Que destino tão grande, ou que ventura,
Vos trouxe a commeterdes tal caminho?
Não he sem causa, não, occulta e escura,
Vir do longinquo Tejo, e ignoto Minho,
Por mares nunca d' outro lenho arados
A reinos tão remotos e apartados.

31.

Deos por certo vos traz; porque pretende
Algum serviço seu por vós obrado:
Por isso só vos guia, e vos defende
Dos imigos, do mar, do vento irado.
Sabei, que estais na India, onde se estende
Diverso povo, rico, e prosperado
De ouro luzente, e fina pedraria,
Cheiro suave, ardente especiaria.

Canto VII, 24.

Amongst the rout, which him did swarm to see,
Comes one, trayn'd up in the Arabian's lore,
Having been born in land of Barbarie,
There, where Anteus was obey'd of yore.
Whether, the Lusitanian people, he
Knew meerly as a neighbour to that shore;
Or (bitten with their steel) was sent so far
On Fortune's errand by the chance of war.

25.

The messenger with jocund face survay'd,
He in plain Spanish gave him thus the haile;
How to this world, in name of Heav'n (cam'rade)
So distant from thy native Portugale!
Op'ning a passage through rough seas (he said)
Which never mortal wight before did sayle,
We come to seek of Indus the great streame,
Whereby to propagate the Gospel's beam.

the Castilian Moor took them to his house, and gave them a good supper, asking them about their fortunes in having come as far as that country, and of what they came to seek. Upon all which Joan Nūz gave him information according as he had been indoctrinated by the captain-major. The Castilian told him that he was a native of Seville, and when

26.

Astonisht at so great a voyage stood
The Moor (his name Monsayde), briefly told
Their sad disasters on the azure flood,
And hair-breadth scapes, by this same Lusian bold.
But since, his main affair (he understood)
Unto the King alone he would unfold;
He tells him, he at present is not there,
Being retir'd into the countrey neer.

27.

So that (until the news at Court have bin
Of their prodigious passage through the mayn)
Please him, to make his homely nest, his inne;
With victuals of the land hee'l entertain
Him there: and, being well refresht therein,
Himself will bring him to the fleet again.
For that, the world hath not a thing more sweet,
Than in a distant land when neighbours meet.

28.

The Portingall with bosome not ingrate
Accepts the offer, kind Monsayde made.
As if their friendship were of ancient date,
With him, he eat, and drank, as he was pray'd.
Towards the ships (that done) return they straight:
Which the Moor knew when he the build survay'd.
They climbe the Am'ral, where both man and boy,
Receive Monsayde with a gen'ral joy.

29.

The captain (rapt) him in his arms did squeeze,
Hearing the music of the Spanish tongue;
And (seated by him) shrieves him by degrees
Touching the land, and things thereto that long.
But as in Thracian Rhodope the trees
And bruits, to hear his golden lute did throng
Who did his lost Euridice deplore;
So throng'd the common men to hear the More.

a boy of few years had been a prisoner, and had undergone various captivities until a master of his had died and had left him free, and to make his life secure he had taken the name and ceremonies of a Moor, but that God in heaven, to whom he recommended himself, knew that his soul was Christian.[1] Joan Nūz rejoiced much at hearing him, especially because the Moor (the broker) understood very little of what they were talking, for Joan Nūz also spoke to him

[1] Barros and Camoens relate that this Moor, whom they name Monzaide, was a native of the kingdom of Tunis, and had already had communications with the Portuguese at Oran; and that either from remembrance of the west, where he had been born, or from some other good disposition which moved him on seeing the Portuguese, and speaking to them in Castilian, from the moment he entered the ships, he became intimate with Vasco da Gama, and came with him to Portugal, where he died a Christian.

The account of his origin and of the motives of his assisting the Portuguese related by Correa is much more probable than that of Barros; it is also more agreeable to human nature, since, according to the account of Barros, if he had been an Arab from Tunis he would have been an unmitigated traitor.

30.

He thus begins. O men! whom Nature plac't
Neer to the nest where I my birth did take;
What chance, or stronger destiny, so vast
So hard a voyage, made you undertake?
For some hid cause from Tagus are ye past,
And unknown Minius, through that horrid lake
On which no barke before did ever floate,
To kingdoms so conceal'd, and so remote.

31.

God, God hath brought you: He hath (sure) some grand
And special business here for you to do.
For this alone He leads you by strong hand
Through foes, seas, stormes, and with a heavenly clew.
India is this, with sev'ral nations man'd;
Great Nature's bounty all beholding to
For glist'ring gold, for sparkling stones of price,
For odoriferous gums, for burning spice.

Fanshaw.

in Castilian; and he told the Castilian that he should be very glad if he would come to the ships to speak to the captain-major. He said that he would go willingly, and the Gozil would give him leave; and they went to sleep. Next day they had leave of the Gozil, and they all went to the ship, where, on entering, the Castilian made his salutation, taking off his cap in his hand, and spoke to the captains who were sitting together on chairs, and said, "God give you good fortune, Who has brought you to this port." The captain-major replied, "Honoured Castilian, God give you health." The people hearing them thus speaking Castilian wept with joy. The captain-major showed him great honour, and made him sit on a stool, and continued talking to him and asking him many questions as to his fortunes and how he had come thither? to all which he answered: and when it was time to dine, the captain-major ordered dinner to be set for him at a table at which he and Joan Nũz ate; and the captains dined at another table. When dinner was over they retired to the cabin with the Castilian, to whom the captain-major also gave an account of how they had arrived at this port, in the same manner as Joan Nũz had related it; and the captain-major said that he was resolved to establish peace with the King, and to give him his embassage and the present which he had brought for him, and there to take in cargo for the ships, but he did not know if he should take the right steps or go wrong, because he was not acquainted with the position of the King and of the inhabitants, nor of the commerce of the country. The Castilian Moor, inspired by God, said to him, "Gentlemen, captains, listen well to what I say to you: when I entered this ship I had in my heart treason towards you, which I will relate, but on entering this cabin God commanded my heart to speak to you the truth, and I verily believe that He disposed that you should arrive here for much good, which it pleases the Lord that you should meet with, delivering you from so many perils of

the sea, and now from those of the land, which it pleases Him that you may be delivered from by me by my discovering to you the whole truth. For you must know, gentlemen, that from the moment you put into port here you caused disturbance of mind to the Moors of this city, who are numerous and very powerful in the country on account of their great riches and commerce. These, on seeing the ships and knowing that they belonged to Christians, of whom they are mortal enemies, knowing also that you were sending a message to the King for the purpose of treating with him and establishing peace and friendship, which would not be unless with the object of establishing trade, assembled all their chief men and held councils in which they agreed to employ themselves in person and property in turning you out of India, not only from this place, but also from all the other ports of the whole of this coast; for in all of them there is a great number of Moors, both rich and powerful, as in this city. They have written their letters upon this determination, and no doubt but that the replies will not be delayed many days, without doubt also all will be much gratified at this consultation; and these here are already thoroughly agreed with the overseer of the treasury and with the Gozil, to injure you as much as they can with the King. As I am known to all, and they are aware that I am from the parts of Christendom, as I have related it frequently, it seemed to them that I, better than any one else, could deceive and betray you, and they promised me large gifts to induce me to introduce myself feignedly into your friendship in order to learn your secrets, and give them information of everything. I speak to you the truth, that it was with this design and thought that I brought into my house your men as guests, so that by that friendship I might gain admittance to yourselves; and here, on entering this cabin where I now am, my heart felt much fear of God, which directed me to do good to you. Now that I have told you the truth, command

me what I am to do, and you will see whether I am false or true, for in my opinion it is not right that you should trust to me, since you see me as a Moor and amongst Moors." Having heard all this the captains answered the Moor, that it was a great matter which he had related to them, and that already for that much they were under great obligations to him, as he would see by his recompense after that they had experienced his truth; and they begged him much to advise them as to the manner they were to assume towards him, in order to avail themselves of the good which he wished to do them, and that it should not be perceived by the Moors lest they should do him any harm. The Castilian replied, that he would give them his opinion, but that they should do whatever they thought for the best, and it was that they should not consent to his returning again on board the ships; and that on shore, with those who went there he would do the best he could; and, that his own people might not perceive it, they should dismiss him with fair words, saying, that he should not take the trouble to return to the ship except with their leave, which would be given after that peace was established. This seemed to them the best, and so they settled it; then, after much conversation, they came out to the quarter-deck, where they remained talking of many things which the Castilian related, and all the crew rejoiced at hearing them. Then the captain-major ordered five ells of very fine green cloth to be given him, and said that he had much enjoyed hearing so many things as he had told them of, and that he might go on shore with good luck, and that he, the captain-major, was waiting for a message from the King to go on shore, and if he went there he would be very glad if the Castilian were to go with him to speak to the King, since he knew the language of the country. The Castilian replied: "Sir, no one can go before the King except when he commands it; meantime I shall be very glad to serve you whenever you have arranged your affairs; there

on shore I am at your service for this favour which you have done me without my having deserved it." With this he took leave and went on shore, where the Moors at once spoke to him of what he had found out. He said to them that he had talked much with the Portuguese, and had learned from them that they had started from Portugal in company with a large fleet which their King had sent to a country to take in cargo of drugs and pepper, in exchange for merchandise, and that in a storm they had parted company from the rest; and since two years they had been going about as lost[1], for they did not know the country to which they were going; that only the captain-major of the fleet carried a pilot who knew the country where they were to take in cargo, which was a new country to which as yet they had not navigated; and they carried with them a present and letters for the King of the country for the establishment of peace and friendship before that they bought and sold; and that these letters and presents had been brought by the captain of these ships, who was the ambassador who was to go on shore to establish peace and trade; and that, having separated from their companions, they had been going for a year and a half without seeing land; and they had come to Mozambique, where evil and treachery had been wrought against them; so, also, the people of Quiloa and Bombaza had wished to act towards them, from which places they had gone to Melinde, where they had met with good at the hands of the King, and they had there established peace for ever, and had refitted their ships, and eat and slept on shore in the King's house; and he, on learning their fortunes, had given them pilots who had brought them hither,

[1] It is not stated why Gama misrepresented and increased the length of time employed in his voyage; Barros does not relate this, but he confirms it indirectly, since he says the Catual urged on the King of Calecut that little account was to be taken of the Portuguese, since they required two years' navigation to reach Calecut. *Asia*, I, lib. iv, cap. ix.

for they thought that since their fleet had gone to seek pepper and drugs, it might be that it had come here to Calecut; and with the hope of finding their fleet here, they had come for that purpose, and on not falling in with it, they had been about to depart; but since here they had found what they had come to look for, they would take in cargo, if the King would establish a peace with them, for which object they would give him the letters and present of their King which they had brought with them, and which they were to give to the King of the country where they should take in cargo. "Most of these things," said the Castilian Moor, "which I have related to you were told to me by the captains, and they were told me by a broker whom they have got with them, and by the Melinde pilots. They gave me five ells of cloth, and they dismissed me like men who did not want anything more of me, only they begged me that if they came ashore that I would go with them to the King's presence, to which I replied to them that I would do it with good will, but that no one could go before the King except those whom he commanded to do so: and upon that they sent me on shore." The Moors on hearing these things from the Castilian gave much credit to him, because they held him to be a good Moor. All of them took counsel together, and said that since the King was covetous they would not be able to impede his speaking to the Portuguese; but that after he had spoken to them and received their present, whilst friendship and commerce were being established, then it would be necessary to take such measures that in the purchases and sales they should dispose matters so that they should not take in cargo, and should go away, and the principal part of this business would have to be done by the overseer of the treasury, and that the Gozil should cause them detention before speaking to the King, so that they should be out of humour, and give way to anger, so as to do some wrong, which would be the

cause of their effecting nothing; but that for this to take place they must give so much to the overseer of the treasury and to the Gozil, that they should do everything, and for this they must not value money in a matter which so greatly interested them, since it was certain that if they did not do so, and the Portuguese were to establish trade, they would be ruined. And if it should perchance happen that the King were to speak to them and ask their advice, they would say that they should rejoice at everything which was to his advantage; but that he ought to make his agreements with the Portuguese with such precautions that evil should not befal him later, because the Christians were very arrogant, and rested satisfied with nothing, and giving them one thing they wanted another, and if that was not given them, they would take it by force;[1] and they would cause him to feel such suspicion of the Portuguese, that he would never confide in them, from which something might arise on account of which they might be turned out of the country; which being the case, it would be known at once throughout the country, even though they went to another port, no one would admit them, since the King of Calecut had turned them out, so that they would then return to their own country, and would arrive there, or not. All this having been well talked over and consulted upon amongst the Moors, they then spoke to the overseer of the treasury and the Gozil, and gave them much money and rich jewels; and they engaged on their part to do all in their power with the King, and to counsel him not to admit the Portuguese into the country; the Moors offering to pay the King all the loss that he might suffer from this. The Portuguese, after the departure of the Castilian, continued talking of what they

[1] If the history of the Arabs in Spain be taken into consideration, there was nothing exaggerated in this picture, and subsequent events in India proved its correctness. Osorio gives a long speech by the Moors to the King of Calecut, like that given by Correa.

ought to do if the King sent them a message to come on shore; and Nicholas Coelho came to this council from the other ship of Vasco da Gama, where he always remained; then they related to him all the warning which the Castilian had given them of the consultation which the Moors had held, of which they also informed the masters and pilots, and talked it over with them; all expressed great doubt as to the captain-major's going on shore, since there was so much hazard and peril of life, and he ought not to run any risk, for his death would be the perdition of them all if he were killed on shore, and he ought not to go there; and if the King sent for him, then they should send another person saying he was the ambassador, and he must not go by any manner of means; and this all agreed to. But Vasco da Gama, as he was ardent in the service which he desired to render to the King, said: "Sir, my brother, and my friends, you must know that since I embarked in this voyage from the first, before God, I offered my life and soul for it, if the merciful Lord should be pleased that I should bring it to an end, if it was for His holy service; for which reason I tell you in truth that even though I were now within the bar of Lisbon, I would not go in, but rather by my own hands would seek death than appear before the King without bringing him the commission which he charged me with; and because I settled this in my soul, I do not value my life at anything; and a sufficiently bad account would be given of me if, from fear of death, I were to put a man in my place to perform that which is so much my obligation. Therefore, without any doubt, I shall go on shore, and I fear nothing, for everything is in the hand of God. For which, my brother and all of you, for the sake of God, and on behalf of the King our sovereign, whatsoever disaster or death may happen to me, I require you not to desist from labouring, by any arrangement which may seem good to you, until you have laden these ships, or as much of them as may

be in your power; and if you should be unable to get any cargo to show to the King, then you may depart at once, and return to Portugal to give an account to the King of what we have accomplished; and if you should be unable to depart at once with the weather which you may have, then go along the coast as far as the weather serves you, and discover as much as you can see, endeavouring to buy pepper and drugs, and things of this country as samples; and take nothing by force, neither on the land nor by sea, that the reputation which the Moors give of us may not remain true, for they say that we are robbers, and come to spy out countries in order to come later and take them; and if it please onr Lord, they will turn out truthful in this, for may it please God to give so great a favour to the King; and this I tell you, and command you with all the authority which I hold." To this no one had anything to answer, except to hope that God would choose what was best for His holy service; Paulo da Gama also promised his brother that he would do all as he had bidden.[1] Vasco da Gama made his arrangements for going on shore, and prepared the present that he would take and the letter which he had to give to the King, which both of them[2] drew np, placing in it the exordium of Portugal, and [they made] the King say that it had come to his knowledge that the ruler of India had power over several kingdoms, and was the lord of great riches, and was powerful from his warlike people with whom he conld conquer the world if he chose: which had caused him a great longing in his heart to send in search of him and to become acquainted with him, and establish with him as much friendship and peace as he might be willing to admit, and to become friends like brothers; and he wished to send his ships and merchandise, of which there was much in his

[1] Barros says they settled that Vasco da Gama should go on shore, and Paulo da Gama and Nicolas Coelho should remain on board.

[2] The two brothers.

kingdom of all sorts whatever, which would be brought to the kingdom of Calecut, and sold and exchanged for other goods which he was informed were to be found in his kingdom and countries, especially pepper and drugs, which did not exist in his own kingdom. For this he had sent fifty ships, and in them a captain-major for the sea, who would not go on shore, but only his servant, Vasco da Gama, the second captain-major, who was to go on shore with those people whom he had sent; and all that he should say to the King of Calecut was from his mouth, and his speech, and all credit was to be given to it, because that which he arranged and agreed to with the King of Calecut, he affirmed it for ever; this his sons also, and those who should descend from them, would likewise affirm, and he thus affirmed it. And they signed it with the signature of the King, and placed upon the letter the seal of his arms with red wax. Vasco da Gama got ready twelve men of good appearance to go with him well dressed; and the present for the King, which was a piece of very fine scarlet cloth and a piece of crimson velvet, a piece of yellow satin, a chair covered with brocade of much nap, studded with silver gilt nails; a cushion of crimson satin, with tassels of gold thread; and another cushion of red satin for the feet; a hand basin chased and gilt, with a ewer of the same kind, a very handsome thing; and a large, very splendid, gilt mirror; fifty scarlet caps, with buttons and tassels of crimson twisted silk and gold thread on the top of the caps; and fifty sheaths of knives of Flanders, with ivory handles,[1] which were made in Lisbon, and the sheaths gilt. All these things were wrapped in napkins, and all in very good order.[2]

[1] Tachas, properly studs, nails.

[2] Barros says that Vasco da Gama went on shore with twelve persons, but that he had not taken a present with him, and on the day after his audience of the Zamorim, at the advice of Monzaide, he sent a few things to the Zamorim, with the excuse that when he left Portugal he

was not sure of reaching India and seeing the King of Calecut, and therefore was not as well provided as he should have been, and these things were some which he had brought for his own use, and he sent them, not for their value, but as samples of Portuguese goods: and only these had escaped from the damp of the sea, as they had been going on it so long. Barros says Gama brought two letters from the King of Portugal to the King of Calecut, one in Portuguese, the other written in Arabic. Castanheda says, the King finding Gama had brought nothing from the King of Portugal, asked for the golden image of St. Mary which he had in his ship; Gama replied that the St. Mary was of gilt wood and not of gold, and even if it was he could not give it, as it preserved him at sea. Castanheda says Gama gave two letters, one in Portuguese, the other in Arabic; this latter was read and explained to the King by a committee of four Moors, one of whom, at Gama's request, was Monzaide. Osorio says Gama went ashore with twelve men, and gave his letters and presents to the King, who seemed to despise them; Gama excused them on the ground that D. Manuel had hardly expected that the voyage would end so prosperously. Gama begged the King not to communicate the letters to the Moors, but only to Monzaide.

CHAPTER X

How Vasco da Gama went on shore, and had King of Calecut, and spoke to him about a cove trade: and of what happened.

The King, on receiving the message of the capt the effect that he could do nothing without first establ peace, and giving an explanation of this, and that after pe was established then he would establish trade, spoke of this matter to his confidantes and the overseer of the treasury and the Gozil; for the King said he desired to know what the Portuguese King wanted. The overseer of the treasury and the Gozil, who had already received the presents of the Moors, said to the King that it was very requisite first to learn the truth about our people whether they came for a good purpose or not; and that meantime he should send to tell them to send a man from whom he could get information as to what the Portuguese wanted, and if it was a thing agreeable to his will, then he would hear the embassage of their King. This advice seemed good to the King; and at the end of three days after that he sent to call the broker, who was always on shore with Joan Nũz to purchase provisions. The broker however also bought porcelain, benzoin, and bags of musk, these in small quantities; also pepper which they sold him by measure, and bundles of cinnamon and ginger, as if for himself, and at night they carried it away, when they went to the ship. When these came before the King he told them to go to the ship and take a message to the captain, and he sent with them a Nair, a relation of the Gozil, and told them to say that a man should be sent who could give explanations as to what he might ask him, and that they should send word through him how they wished the

The captain-major, seeing that a boat a message, ordered the things of the pre- have been already mentioned, to be pnt on chiefs, as if they were cleaning and sunning them, many strings of coral beads, which was their principal erchandise. When the Nair came on board, they gave him a good reception, and when he had given the King's message they at once called Nicolas Coelho, who came from the other ship, and the captain-major sent him on shore well dressed and with twelve men, and told him what the King wished to know from him, and that when he asked about the peace, he was to tell him that he, the King, was to give his peace and secnrity like a King, such as he was, to the Portugnese that they might go on shore bnying and selling merchandise, and that no one was to do them any harm, nor any fraud, neither in the prices nor in the goods, and they were to give them everything the same as to the other foreign merchants, and that they should give them boats to embark every evening what they bought in the day, and that they might buy goods in what qnantities they pleased, and that they should not pay more dnties than what were customary in the country, both with regard to what they bought and what they sold; and this trade of buying and selling was to last for ever with such good friendship as if he was own brother to the King of Portugal; and of this he was to take oath, according to his usage, and give his signatnre. If he was satisfied with this, and gave his oath and signature, a factor would then go on shore immediately with the goods. When all should have been thus established, and the bnying and selling commenced, and the captain-major should see that this was being done with order and friendship, he would immediately, on hostages being sent, go on shore to establish and confirm this peace also with his oath; and would show the letters which he brought from the King with his present. All this the captain-major gave in writing to Nicolas Coelho.

While this was being done, the Nair was looking at the things which were spread out, at which he was surprised; and the captain-major gave him a cap and a knife with a sheath; and, as the cap had no tassel, he asked to have one of the other caps and knives, but the broker told him that those were to be taken to the King. Then they went ashore, and when they landed many people ran up, and when they reached the gate of the palace they found many seats like benches of earth, very well arranged, on which was seated the Gozil on a mat of many patterns; he rose and made a salutation to Nicolas Coelho, and made him sit close to him; there were here two hundred men of the Nairs who were in the service of the Gozil. He ordered the Nair who had come with them to go inside the palace to take information to the King, and the Nair went and remained so long without returning, that it appears he was relating to the King all that he had seen in the ship. It was now very late, for this happened after they had already dined, and the sun had set, when a message arrived from the King that he could not speak to them as he was engaged, and would speak to them next morning. Nicolas Coelho said nothing, and asked the Gozil to order a boat to be prepared for him and he would return to the ship. He answered that the sea was high, and for that reason no one could go to the ships at night. They remained there a great part of the night; then the Gozil sent Nicolas Coelho to the house of a Gentile, a man of the country, which was a very good house; and he ordered them to give him there boiled rice, which they set before him on green fig leaves, which were as broad as a sheet of paper; and they gave him fowls, roast and boiled after their fashion, and good figs. When they had done eating, they gave them mats on which they slept upon benches like those that were at the King's door. The Castilian, who had seen everything, when it was night kept walking before the door of the house, until Nicolas Coelho

came out for a moment, when he told him to dissemble, because they were exposing him to these delays in order that he might get angry and lose his temper, and he went away not to be seen speaking to Coelho. Next day Nicolas Coelho took it very easily and leisurely in the house until they came to call him, when he went to the King's house, where he was met at the door by the overseer of the treasury, with many people, who received him with much honour, and told him that the King was indisposed and could not talk to him, and that the King sent word that Coelho was to say to him all that he wished. Nicolas Coelho said that he had brought a message which the captain-major had ordered him to repeat to the King, and therefore he could not speak it except to him; and if the King was indisposed, he would go back to the ships and would come whenever the King pleased. The overseer of the treasury pressed him to speak to him, but Nicolas Coelho would not, and asked him for a boat to return to his ship. The overseer of the treasury sent word of this to the King, who ordered him to be introduced. The overseer of the treasury then brought Coelho to where the King was, in a small house like a chamber with little light. The King was seated on a low bed covered with a white cloth; near him was one of his Brahmans, who are like their clergy. Nicolas Coelho made his most profound salutation to the King, and remained standing in silence. The Brahman asked the broker why he did not speak; and the broker repeated this in another language to Joan Nũz, who repeated it to Nicolas Coelho: and he replied that he could not speak without the King's commanding him to do so. Then the King bade him speak, and he gave him the whole message which he had brought, as the captain-major had ordered him. After hearing it, the King told him to go outside and wait, and the overseer of the treasury would bring him the answer. Nicolas Coelho replied that he

would not receive the answer from any one except from himself. Then the King said that he was satisfied with all he had asked, and he ordered the overseer of the treasury to carry it all out, and with that he dismissed him.[1] When they had again come outside, the overseer of the treasury told him to say what goods they had brought. He replied that they would bring what they had got on shore, and if they were not satisfied with them, they would take them back again, and would buy with gold and silver, but that they would have to settle the prices, and do all this after that the King had made everything secure as he had said; and then they would commence trade of buying and selling as in a country of a friend and brother of the King of Portugal, and the captain-major would come on shore to give the embassage which he had brought for the King. A message of this was sent back to the King, who sent his signature on a dry leaf of a palm tree: the King's Brahman brought it; it was written with letters made with strokes. The Brahman took a thread which he wore hung round his shoulders between his thumbs with his hands joined, and swore that the King had signed that leaf, and in it affirmed everything just as the captain-major had requested. Then Nicolas Coelho spoke to the broker, who told him to take the leaf with marks of satisfaction, that he believed all as true, and afterwards he would see how the business advanced. Then Nicolas Coelho, with signs of pleasure, took the leaf and kissed it, and placed it on his head, and put it in his bosom, and asked the overseer of the treasury to give him a boat to take the message to the captain-major. This he gave him at once, and on going to the beach the Castilian passed by the broker and put into his hand a writing by which he told the captain-major to make rejoicing over the King's leaf, and to send on shore a small quantity of merchandise for selling and buying each day,

[1] The other historians do not mention this visit of Coelho to the King.

and that at night they should embark what they bought; and to send a factor with the broker and Joan Nũz, and another man, and that they should be warned not to try to obtain more than was offered. When Nicolas Coelho arrived, and Vasco da Gama saw the letter of the Castilian, and Coelho had related to him what had happened, what the Castilian said seemed to him good advice, and he ordered flags to be hung out, and the trumpets to be sounded, and salutes to be fired with several charges in both ships; at which the people were amazed seeing the ships fire so many discharges. Immediately after, the captain-major, running the risk of the luck which God might give, appointed as factor one Diego Diaz, a man of the King's establishment, and as clerk Peter de Braga,[1] and with them Joan Nũz, and the broker and the Moorish pilot from Melinde, whom he invited to go with them on shore. By the advice of the broker, in order to settle the price, he sent in a chest one hundredweight of unwrought branch coral, and as much of vermilion, and a barrel of quicksilver, fifty pigs of copper, twenty strings of large cut coral, and as many of amber, and five Portugueses of gold, fifty cruzados, and a hundred testoons in silver; also a table with a green cloth, and a wooden balance with four weights of a quintal, and one half quintal, and he ordered them to accept as the price what was given them, and to verify it with the balance and weights. All which the clerk was to write down in the book which he carried for that purpose, and they were not to crave more than what was given them; and by no means to persist, nor to allow the broker to show any urgency or obstinacy, as was his custom; and in everything they were to show that they were pleased, and to act so that they should rather be considered as simple men than as wary; and he told the broker and pilot not to be in anywise obstinate in buying and selling, as such was their custom, and

[1] Barros mentions their appointment, but as having happened later, he names De Braga, Alvaro, instead of Peter.

when they did not find a good market they went to some other place where they found it better. Having given all of them instructions as to what they had to do, he sent them in the boat, in which they went to a short distance from the land, and anchored with a grapnel, because they could not reach the land, for the waves broke very much, and only the Indian skiffs were able to take the waves, which did them no harm. As soon as the boat anchored, there came at once a skiff from the shore, in which the broker and Joan Nūz and the pilot placed themselves, and went on shore to ask the overseer of the treasury to give them a house on the beach for the factor to remain there with the goods which they were bringing; he at once gave orders to the broker to take whichever house he pleased. This he did, and took a large house in two compartments, from which they at once cleared out the people who lived in it. The skiff brought the factor and clerk and all the merchandise, and the balance which they suspended, and they placed the table with a bench which they also brought from the ship; the merchandise they placed in the other apartment. Soon after the overseer of the treasury came with many Nairs, whom he ordered to keep off many people and Moors who were looking on. The factor then showed all that he had got there to the overseer of the treasury, who asked him if he had got much goods of those which he had shown him. He replied that he had little, because much others had gone in the other ship, and that he would sell all that he had if he found anything to buy. The overseer asked what money he had got, and the factor showed it him. The overseer of the treasury then sent for a changer, who weighed it all, and proved it with his touchstones, which they carry for that purpose, and with which they are very clever; and they set a value on each coin, which they told to the factor, and the clerk wrote it down, and it was higher than in Portugal. The factor said that it was worth

more in his country, but that they might make a profit on their purchases. A price was then set upon each article of merchandise separately by itself, upon which a large profit was made, both in the value and also in the weight, which they named farazolas,[1] which, being verified by the scales, gives twenty farazolas and eighteen pounds one bahar. They also settled the prices of pepper and all the drugs. When they wanted to set a price upon other goods, the factor said that he had not got leave to buy anything else but drugs. Then the Gozil asked what they wanted next, for he was also there, having come later bringing with him a few Moors of his party for them to see what was being done. The overseer of the treasury then asked if they wished to begin weighing at once; they said yes: he then ordered many sacks of pepper to be brought, which were weighed in their balance, which was large and with one arm only, and each weighed five farazolas. The factor received it as it was in the sacks, without deduction for the sacks, and without speaking about the price, since it was very little. All day they weighed pepper, and in the evening they reckoned what it was worth, and the factor told the overseer of the treasury to take payment in any sort of goods as he pleased: this he took in cut coral, and copper and quicksilver, which was sufficient for the goods which had been weighed; all which was weighed very favourably to his satisfaction by the overseer of the treasury, who hindered him in nothing; so the factor gave him more than the weight, until the balance touched the ground. Having ended, all the goods were carried away and embarked in Indian skiffs, which put it into the boats, both of which took the cargo, and the skiffs returned ashore. Whilst the overseer of the treasury was about to go away, the factor gave him

[1] The appendix to Barbosa and Magellan's book says: "a farazola is twenty-two pounds of sixteen ounces and six ounces and a half more: twenty farazolas are one bahar."

ten ells of crimson satin and four red caps, and six knives with sheaths, which the overseer thanked him for, making many offers; and he asked the factor what goods he wished to put on board next day: he replied that he would send and ask the captain-major. Then the overseer of the treasury left him a Nair, who was always to remain for his protection; this the factor thanked him for very much, and was glad of it, because he made the people keep off from the door, who smothered them. The boats went to the ship, and with them the clerk Peter de Braga, who went to give an account of what had happened, and show the book in which he had written the weights and prices of everything and of the money, at which they experienced great satisfaction and gave great praise to the Lord. Next day they sent more copper in the boats, and also a little more or less of the other goods, as much as was sufficient for weighing during the day. Vasco da Gama sent to tell the factor to ask the overseer of the treasury to give them pepper because it had to go below all the other goods; and to buy poles and planks to make compartments for each sort of goods to go separate, which was done. Next day the boats went in the morning to take their posts, and the Indian skiffs came at once and carried the goods on shore. Then the overseer of the treasury ordered pepper to be carried to the factory, and sent one of his clerks to be present at the weighing. When the overseer of the treasury related to the King the prices which he had fixed, and the manner in which things had been weighed, he was much pleased at the large profits which were made, and which doubled the money of all that was bought and sold; and he told the overseer of the treasury to give them also some of all the other goods, so as to see with which most gain was made. During this day also pepper was weighed as the factor had requested, and he paid the labourers what the King's clerk, who was looking on at the weighing, told him to give

them. The pilot also purchased planks and rafters, which he took to the ships in Indian boats, for which a fixed price had been established for each journey they made to the boats or to the ships. The boats remained constantly in the position they had taken, each one with two swivel guns and a gunner, and sailors with pikes under the benches, and swords placed below the thwarts of the boats, and they carried with them provisions to eat, and were always ready at hand to come up if any disturbance occurred: and they went on weighing until the evening, when the overseer of the treasury came to make the account and receive the merchandise, and he took those goods which the factor gave him, because upon all of them much money was gained. At night, when the Portuguese took the goods on board, the overseer of the treasury went to give an account to the King, who ordered that ginger should be given next day, which was done, and the ginger was brought to the factory; it came smeared with red clay, because it was exported in that manner, for with the clay it travelled better, and with more strength. But the clay was so much in excess of what was sufficient, that the clay weighed much more than the ginger, which was a great robbery of the Portuguese, and the factor understood it, because the broker pointed it out to him; but he dissembled and told the overseer of the treasury to order more clay to be put upon the ginger, because it had to go a long way. Of this the overseer of the treasury ordered so much to be brought, that they had to spend three days in weighing it; during these they also brought in some pepper, because the factor said it was necessary to stow it below the other merchandise. The Mozambique pilot who was in the ship arranged the compartments with the rafters and planks, all which were made very strong and pitched over, which was done by the ship's workmen; and they were lined with matting, of which there was plenty on shore, made for this purpose of stowing

cargo in ships. The pilot told the captain-major that each kind of goods was to go by itself separated from the rest, because that which went mixed was spoiled, the one kind by another; and it was thus executed as the pilot directed. When three days had passed, during which they weighed the ginger, the overseer of the treasury said that they should take cinnamon; the factor said they would take the cinnamon last, because, as it was a bulky article of little weight, it must lie on the top of the cargo. The overseer replied that it was necessary they should take a little of it, because they had to clear out a house in which it was kept. The factor, seeing that perforce he would have to do as the overseer chose, could not do anything else; and the cinnamon was brought in packages of sticks and mats, and so they weighed it, and it was old cinnamon and of a bad quality which was unserviceable. The factor acted as if he did not perceive it, and weighed it, and the boats went loaded with it three times, during a day till nightfall, to the ships, and all of it was discharged into the ship of the captain-major, which as yet had got no cargo. The factor wrote to the captain-major that he had taken the cinnamon, although it was bad, because the overseer of the treasury had sent it for him to take. The captain-major answered him, telling him to take everything, even should they be worse goods, because they were not able to do better; and that he was always to ask for pepper, which was the most suitable, because they could not stow cargo without first having pepper to go below. The King was so covetous, on account of the large gains he was making upon the purchases and sales, that he now no longer recollected anything about the embassy. The Moors felt great vexation at seeing the Portuguese thus taking in cargo, and that like stupid people they accepted so unprofitably whatever was given them without making any complaint, since these were bad articles, which were not worth the half of what they were

giving for them, and the merchandise which they gave was with excess of weight; and they knew that the King was so covetous that, as long as the Portuguese wished to buy, the King would sooner supply our men than them; on which account, if many ships came to fetch cargo, they would entirely lose their trade. So they went to speak to the Gozil, and made a long exposition to him, saying that he very well saw that the buying and selling of the Portuguese was like that of stupid men, who gave for merchandise the double of what it was worth, and who took rotten things which were of no use, and were delighted with them as if they were good; all which the King gave because he gained so much by it; and that it was certain that always and whenever the Christians should come thither, he would be selling merchandise and supplying cargo to them sooner than to the Moors. Wherefore, if they could not get cargoes as they had done for so many years, they would be entirely ruined, and all their remedy to prevent this coming to pass lay in his hand, and in that of the overseer of the treasury, as they could counsel the King not to establish peace nor trade with the Portuguese except after he had first had many years experience of their being sincere friends; because it was very clear that they were not merchants, but spies who came to see the country, in order to come afterwards with a large fleet to take and plunder it;[1]

[1] This advice not to make a treaty hurriedly was wise; if trade is mutually advantageous no treaty is required, and both parties are interested in conducting themselves well, which they are not when one party is the strongest and has bound the weaker by a treaty. As soon as Vasco da Gama returned to Portugal, a fleet of thirteen ships was fitted out and sailed for India in the year 1500 under Pedralvares Cabral. It was not, however, a fleet of merchantmen laden with goods to exchange for the produce of India—it carried twelve hundred men and several priests, and the principal article, says Barros, in the instructions given to Pedralvares, was: "Before he attacked the Moors and idolators of those parts with the material and secular sword, he was to allow the priests and monks to use their spiritual sword, which was to declare to

because, if they were really merchants, they would not buy in that manner, nor unprofitably give such high prices for that which was worth nothing: and withal the King was so covetous, that he neither saw nor understood how much this was of importance to his kingdom and his vassals, and he had established peace and trade, in order to see the embassage, and learn of what nature it was, all which had been entirely forgotten. And since they would give the Gozil and the overseer as much as they pleased, they should find the means of counselling the King to send for the embassy to come on shore, and to do his business as so great a King should do. If the ambassador came, by showing him great state, he would esteem the King much more highly, because the Grand Turk, whenever he received an embassy from any King, however great he might be, the ambassador, before he saw him, waited at his doors for many days, for all consisted in points of honour and state and ceremony which great kings have to uphold; and after that the embassage has been heard, many days pass before the reply is despatched. Therefore, since the Gozil had already given

them the Gospel, with admonitions and requisitions on the part of the Roman Church, asking them to abandon their idolatries, diabolical rites and customs, and to convert themselves to the faith of Christ, for all men to be united and joined in charity of religion and love, since we were all the work of one Creator, and redeemed by one Redeemer, who was Christ Jesus, promised by prophets, and hoped for by patriarchs for so many thousand years before he came. For which purpose they brought them all the natural and legal arguments which the Canon Right disposes of. And should they be so contumacious as not to accept this law of faith, and should reject the law of peace, which ought to be maintained amongst men, for the conservation of the human kind, and should they forbid commerce and exchange, which are the means by which peace and love amongst all men is conciliated and obtained (since this commerce is the foundation of all human polity, if the contracting parties agreed in religion and belief in the truth, which each one is obliged to hold and believe of God), in that case they should put them to fire and sword, and carry on fierce war against them. And of all these things he carried copious regulations." Decade I, lib. v, cap. i.

them his word, let him take some action in the matter so as to prevent the cargo being proceeded with, and then they would at once see the arrogance of the Portuguese, and that which they concealed under the cloak of merchants. The Gozil offered to do it, for he felt envy on account of what the overseer of the treasury had got from our men, and he went to the King and spoke to him in the manner in which the Moors had spoken to him; upon which the King sent to call the overseer of the treasury, and talked over with him what the Gozil had been saying. The overseer said that the Portuguese put all on board, and paid as much as was asked, without rejecting or refusing anything; at which the Gozil said, that on that account he had great suspicions that the Portuguese were not merchants; that if they were so, they would not take poor and despicable merchandise, giving for it double what it was worth, but that he understood truly that they were evil men of war, and thus in the guise of merchants they entered into countries to spy and search in order afterwards to come and rob, and therefore they ought not to give them cargo, but rather to kill them all and burn the ships, so that they should never return there again. The King said, since that was their opinion, he would send for the ambassador to come, who would bring him the present, and afterwards they would do whatever would be for the best, and that they should still go on selling goods to them, because if they did not supply them, the Portuguese would at once be filled with suspicions of evil, on account of which the ambassador would not come on shore: this seemed to them good. The King then arranged with the Gozil the coming and reception of the ambassador, and that after he had come on shore, he would go thence outside to Panané, where he used to reside frequently, and he would order the ambassador to come thither, and if he did not go, he would order him to be brought by force, and he would order him to be seized if he

broke out into any violence; and they settled that that would be a good course. Immediately next day the Gozil sent one of the King's Nairs with a message to the captain-major, that the King said that since peace had been established as he desired, and he was loading his ships, he would be pleased if he came to deliver the embassage which he had brought for him. The Castilian, who took good care, as it pleased the Lord, on learning these things, came at night in the garb of a beggar, and going along begging alms, reached the door of the factory and begged alms in Castilian, and the factor recognised him, because the Castilian told him by a sign, and he brought him inside, when he told the factor that the captain-major was not to come ashore without good hostages, and that he would give him a sign of what would be a good one: then he went out again, begging in the same way. This the factor wrote to the captain-major, who on hearing the message of the Nair, told him that he was ready to go at once, and he asked him as a favour at once to send a hostage to the ship as was the custom for ambassadors, because he was ready to go immediately. When the King heard this, with the longing that he had for the present, he told the Gozil to send a couple of Nairs, of the most honourable that he had, and with them his nephew. The Gozil did not like this, as he did not know what would turn out. The King told him to send them, because after the ambassador had come on shore he would send for them to come, and of this he gave him his promise. Then the three Nairs, with very good cloths, and gold bracelets on the shield-arms above their elbows, and gold earrings in their ears, and their swords and splendid shields, which it is their custom always to carry as long as they live, by day and night, were delivered over by the Gozil to the factor, for him to convey them to the ship; he excused himself from doing so, saying he could not because he was weighing, but that the interpreter

Joan Nũz would go to the King for him to deliver them up, because they had to be received from the King's hand, and then he would conduct them to the ship. This the Gozil did, and went with the interpreter to the King, and delivered to him the hostages. Meanwhile, the Castilian found time to tell the factor which of the three Nairs was the Gozil's nephew, who was sufficient. They went immediately in an Indian boat to the ship, and the captain-major received them with much honour; and seeing three hostages, on account of the notice which he had already received from the factor, he said through the interpreter that one hostage was sufficient for so great a king as was the King of Calecut, even though he were only one youth belonging to his household. They then got ready at once, and the captain-major ordered all the articles which I have before mentioned to be wrapped up in handkerchiefs and napkins, and the Nairs were delighted to see them: and he ordered the trumpeters to be dressed in white and red liveries which he had had made; and on the trumpets were set streamers of white and red taffety, with a gilt sphere upon them, and their slings, and the trumpets were cleaned and burnished so that they shone like gold. He took to accompany him twelve men well clothed, and some of his household, and there went Alvaro de Braga, Joan de Setubal, and Joan Palha, all smart men. The clothes of the captain-major and the articles of silver were put in a chest, and all embarked in the boat, and he took one of the Nairs, and left the other with the Gozil's nephew, well lodged in an apartment of his cabin, to whom Paulo da Gama gave a good welcome. Next day Vasco da Gama went in the boats, which also carried goods for the factory, where the Gozil, with many people, was on the beach waiting for him; and he first sent the Nair to go and tell the King that he was there, and with him he sent an interpreter. This the captain-major did on account of a warning from the Castilian, who sent

him word that the King was about to go five leagues outside the city, in order to bid him go thither, and that this was at the advice of the Moors. The Nair and interpreter, on reaching land and mentioning the message with which they were going to the King, were sent back again by the Gozil to the captain-major to tell him to disembark and that they would go to the King's houses, and that he had had to go outside the city in a hurry and would return in the evening, and had given orders for them to wait there till he came. Vasco da Gama sent the Nair on shore to wait until he saw the King and tell him that he was coming at his summons, and that as he did not find him, on that account he was returning to the ship until the King came: and if he sent for him to come, he would come at once. At this the Gozil felt melancholy; and said to the factor that the captain-major did wrong not to come out and wait for the King as he had bidden. The factor told him that the captain-major was doing what he was ordered by his instructions, and that he was not to give his embassage by night but by day, when the King was in his palace with all his nobles. Then he sent word to the captain-major to send the hostages on shore that they might go and eat. The captain-major answered that he had not got to send them, that he had no authority over them, and that they could very well go away if they pleased, as he was not going to keep them by force. Then Vasco da Gama spoke to the hostages, and told them that he had been going on shore to speak to the King, and that he had not found him, since the Gozil had sent to say that the King had gone outside to some other part, and that he had sent him word to send them on shore, which he could not order them to do, because the King had ordered them to remain there in the ship until he had spoken to him; therefore, if they wished to go, they might go and welcome, as he did not keep them by force. The Nairs said that they would not go except

with the King's orders, and they sent to say this to the Gozil; on account of which they brought them their food and water, which they drank. The Gozil sent a message to the King of what the captain-major had done.

The King was angry because he was inclined to go out of the city, and he came back at once next day, and sent to tell the captain-major that he was in his palace waiting for him. Upon this the captain-major went at once in the boat, and the Moorish broker took him on shore with all the packages in large Indian boats, and he went into the factory, where he dressed himself in a long cloak coming down to his feet, of tawny coloured satin, lined with smooth brocade, and underneath a short tunic of blue satin, and white buskins, and on his head a cap with lappets of blue velvet, with a white feather fastened under a splendid medal; and a valuable enamel collar on his shoulders, and a rich sash with a handsome dagger. He had a page dressed in red satin, and in front of him went the men in file one before another. First after these went the basin, carried wrapped in a napkin by a man who held it against his breast, and in front another with the ewer; then a tray with the knives and caps, and then the open mirror which had doors, and was all splendidly gilt; next the pieces of silk, and in front of all the chair carried upon the head of the broker: and there was in front a piece of scarlet cloth opened so as to show it. Before these went the trumpets sounding, and the factor went with a cane in his hand, and his cap off, as he conducted all the bearers of the present. The King was in a balcony and saw everything in the order in which it came, with great pleasure at seeing such rich things. The factor entered in front and presented each thing to the King, and he placed a cushion upon the chair, and another at its foot [and said], that the ambassador asked him as a favour to sit on the chair for him to give him his embassage seated on that chair, and the King, with the great satisfaction

which he experienced, sat upon it. Before arriving at the palace there was a long street through which the captain-major went; but the crowd was so great that our men could not advance, even though there were many Nairs making the people keep off, and in that crowd there were a great number of Moors also with swords and shields, after the fashion of the Nairs. The captain-major went very leisurely and without fatiguing himself, and remained still until they had made the people stand off. Before reaching the palace, by the King's orders, the catual of the King's house came to receive the captain-major; he is the chief officer of the guard of the King's palace, and if any one enters where the King dwells without his leave, immediately he will order his head to be cut off at the door of the palace without asking the king's pleasure about it. With this Catual the Portuguese proceeded with less encumbrance, because he ordered the people to keep off, and they were much afraid of him. Each time the factor presented any piece of goods, the King looked at it for some time, and this caused much detention. When the captain-major arrived, he was conducted through many courts and verandahs to a dwelling opposite to that in which the King was, beyond, in another room arranged with silk stuffs of various colours, and a white canopy, which was of subtle workmanship and covered the whole room. The King was sitting in his chair, which the factor had got him to sit upon; he was a very dark man, half naked, and clothed with white cloths from the middle to the knees: one of these cloths ended in a long point on which were threaded several gold rings with large rubies, which made a great show. He had on his left arm a bracelet above the elbow, which seemed like three rings together, the middle one larger than the others, all studded with rich jewels, particularly the middle one which bore large stones which could not fail to be of very great value; from this middle ring hung a pendent stone which glittered: it was a diamond of

the thickness of a thumb; it seemed a priceless thing. Round his neck was a string of pearls about the size of hazel nuts, the string took two turns and reached to his middle; above it he wore a thin round gold chain which bore a jewel of the form of a heart, surrounded with larger pearls, and all full of rubies: in the middle was a green stone of the size of a large bean, which, from its showiness was of great price, which was called an emerald; and, according to the information which the Castilian afterwards gave the captain-major of this jewel, and of that which was in the bracelet on his arm, and of another pearl which the King wore suspended in his hair, they were all three belonging to the ancient treasury of the Kings of Calecut. The King had long dark hair, all gathered up and tied on the top of his head with a knot made in it; and round the knot he had a string of pearls like those round his neck, and at the end of the string a pendent pearl pear-shaped and larger than the rest, which seemed a thing of great value. His ears were pierced with large holes, with many gold ear-rings of round beads. Close to the King stood a boy, his page, with a silk cloth round him; he held a red shield with a border of gold and jewels, and a boss in the centre of a span's breadth of the same materials, and the rings inside for the arm were of gold; also a short drawn sword of an ell's length, round at the point, with a hilt of gold and jewellery with pendent pearls. On the other side stood another page, who held a gold cup with a wide rim, into which the King spat; and at the side of his chair was his chief Brahman, who gave him from time to time a green leaf closely folded with other things inside it, which the King ate and spat into the cup. That leaf is of the size of an orange leaf, and the King was always eating it; and after much mastication he spat it into the cup, and takes a fresh one, because he only tastes the juice of this leaf and the mixture that goes with it of quick-lime and other things, which they call areca, cut up small; it is of the

size of a chestnut. Thus chewed all together, it makes the mouth and teeth very red, because they use it all day wherever they may be going, and it makes the breath very pleasant. The factor having finished presenting all the things to the King, which he was looking at very leisurely, the ambassador arrived and made profound salutations to the King; and the King, bowing his head and his body a little, extended his right hand and arm, and with the points of his fingers he touched the right hand of the captain-major, and bade him sit upon the dais upon which he was; but he did not sit down, and spoke to him through the language which Joan Nũz spoke to the broker, and the broker spoke to the Brahman, who was by the King; there were also there the overseer of the treasury and the Gozil, and Vasco da Gama said to the King, "Sire, you are powerful and very great above all the kings and rulers of India, and all of them are under your feet. The great King of Portugal my sovereign having heard of your grandeur, and it is spoken of throughout the world, had a great longing to become acquainted with you and to contract friendship with you as with a brother of his own, and with full and sincere peace and amity to send his ships with much merchandise, to trade and buy your merchandise, and above all pepper and drugs, of which there are none in Portugal; and with this desire he sent fifty ships with his captain-major; and he sent me to go on shore with his present and message of love and friendship, which I have presented to you, because I have been separated from the rest of my company by storms. God has been pleased to bring me here where I now am, and, therefore, I truly believe that you are tho king and ruler whom we came in search of, since here we find the pepper and drugs which our King commanded us to seek, and which you, Sire, have been pleased to give us; and I have great hopes in God that before we depart hence another fleet will arrive here, or some others, for without doubt, Sire, we came to seek for

you; and I tell you, Sire, that so powerful is the King of Portugal my sovereign that after I shall have returned to him with your reply, and with this cargo which you are giving me, he will send hither so many fleets and merchandise, that they will carry away as many goods as are to be had in this city. To certify the truth of what I say, here is the letter of the King my sovereign signed with his hand and seal, and in it you will see his good and true words which he says to you." Vasco da Gama then kissed the letter and placed it upon his eyes, and upon his head, and gave it to the King with his knee on the ground; the King took it and placed it on his breast with both hands, showing marks of friendship, and opened it and looked at it, then gave it to the overseer of the treasury, telling him to get it translated. The King then said to Vasco da Gama that he should go and rest, and that he would see the letter and answer it; and that he should ask the overseer of the treasury for whatever merchandise he wished to put on board, and he would give it him; also whatever he required for the ships; and that he should send all his people to the city to amuse themselves, and to buy whatever they liked, for no one would do them any harm. He told the Gozil to announce this by the crier, and with that he dismissed Vasco da Gama, saying that another day he would speak more at leisure, as it was now late. So Vasco da Gama went out with the overseer of the treasury, and the Gozil, and the Catual of the King's door, who brought him to the factory, with his trumpets blowing before him, and there they took leave of him with salutations. The captain-major slept at the factory, after his great satisfaction, and the next day he sent the trumpeters to the ship with a letter in which he wrote all that had taken place with the King.

The overseer of the treasury came next day to the captain-major and brought him twenty pieces of white stuff, very fine with gold embroidery, which they called beyramies,

and other twenty large white stuffs, very fine, which were named sinabafos, and ten pieces of coloured silk, and four large loaves of benzoin, as much as a man could carry, and in a porcelain jar fifty bags of musk: six basins of porcelain of the size of large soup basins, and six porcelain jars, each of which would hold ten *canadas*[1] of water. He said that the King sent him these things for himself, and that when he went away, then he would give him what he was to take to the King. For which the captain-major sent his best thanks; and he sent all these things and his clothes to the ship, and ordered them to bring on shore a piece of crimson satin and ten strings of large coral, and twenty red caps and many knives, and a piece of scarlet cloth, and a case of branch coral of the best that there was. The Gozil ordered the proclamation to be made which the King had commanded, and as the factory house was small, and the captain-major had ordered the scales to be mounted outside the door, he ordered a large shed to be made with boughs, and had it swept and watered, and he had benches set all round, upon which many merchants and Moors used to sit looking at what was going on. They were always weighing goods, and at night they paid, and before daylight put the goods on board, as the sea was sometimes favourable for that, but the best time was in the evening. Then the captain-major made presents, which he sent by the broker to the overseer of the treasury and the Gozil and Catual, to each ten ells of satin, six caps, ten knives in sheaths, three strings of coral, and half a quintal of branch coral; with which they were much delighted, and sent great thanks: but the Gozil was angry because he knew that the captain-major had given more to the overseer of the treasury than to him. The Moors seeing this good state of affairs for the Portuguese, and the great evil that was beginning for them if they did not interrupt it, and that if the

[1] A canada is a measure equal to three pints.

Portuguese trade and friendship remained thus established, they would be ruined for ever, they held their councils and spoke to the Gozil and the Catual of the King's gate, and gave them much money to act so that this should not be established, for which purpose they might find means to excite some quarrel so that the Portuguese should do some harm and that they might kill some of them, after which the Portuguese also would wound and kill, and the King would be indignant against them, and order them all to be killed, and would take all that was in the factory. The Gozil, and especially the Catual, because he was in poorer circumstances and coveted much what the Moors gave and promised, bound themselves to do what they should see, but that as to quarrels and killing the Portuguese, they were afraid that the King wonld act with great severity in that case, because he was so taken with the Portuguese, as they saw. He therefore at once set on foot his evil design, and went to tell the captain-major that the King wished to speak to him next day, because afterwards he had to go to a city which was two leagues off where he had his principal residence, for this was only the commencement of the city, and he only came thither to see the ships; and this was the truth, because from there to the principal residence of the King, which was in the middle of the city, there were two good leagues. The captain-major, on hearing this message, and believing that it was from the King, said that he would do what he ordered. But the King had not given such orders; but when he sent those presents to the captain-major, he went to his residence in the city, as he had left everything well disposed of. The Catual took great precautions at the doors, in such a manner that no one could go in to the King without his first knowing of it, and going and telling the King, for this was his duty of chief guard; and neither the overseer of the treasury nor the prince went in to the King without leave from the Catual; and this was so

according to thoir ancient nsages. The Moors, seeing that the Catual had power to do everything, since he had the King so kept under his hand, that even if the Portuguese wished to complain to him of any injury that might be done them, they could not do so, bribed the Catual so much that he took measures for doing his work. Two days having passed, he came to the factory in a litter, which men carried on their shoulders. These are made with thick canes bent upwards and arched, and from them are suspended some cloths half a fathom in width, and a fathom and a half in length; and at the extremities, pieces of wood to sustain the cloth hanging from the pole; and upon this cloth a mattress of the same size as the cloth. All this made of silk stuffs and gold thread, with much embroidery and fringes, and tassels, and the ends of the pole mounted with silver; the whole very splendid, and as rich as the gentlemen who go in them, who go sitting upon this mattress; or, if they please, lying down on silken cushions; and as many dainty luxuries as they may desire. The Catual came in one of these litters, and brought another like his own, saying that the King had sent it for Vasco da Gama to go in, since the distance was a long one, and it would weary him, for the King was in the city. The overseer of the treasury was in the factory talking to the captain-major about the goods. During these days much pepper was being given to him, and great preparations were making for embarking cargo; for they had already got many drugs, and were then taking cloves and nutmeg. The cloves were all stick, and the nutmegs half rotten; but the captain-major and factor praised it all as good, so that the Moors and Gentiles were of opinion that the Portuguese were stupid, considering that they did not perceive that deceit. Then the captain-major got into the litter,[1] and strongly recommended the preparations that

[1] This account differs from that of Barros and Camoens in many respects; they relate that Gama had an audience of the Zamorin, whom

were to be made to the overseer of the treasury and to the factor; and he went away with the Catual, thinking that he

they describe in much the same language as that of Correa: their account of Gama's speech or embassage to the Zamorin is also the same, except that they do not mention his fiction of having started with fifty ships. Barros represents this embassage as having been delivered at a second audience, and that at the first two letters from Dom Manuel were presented to the Zamorin, one in Arabic and the other in Portuguese. Barros says that the Catual told the Castilian Moor to attend upon Gama; and Camoens represents the Catual as questioning him about the Portuguese; and in the speech which he puts into the mouth of the Moor Monzaide the poet shows more knowledge of the opinions of the Moors than is to be found generally at the present day, for Monzaide says to the Catual of the Portuguese, Canto VII, 69.—

> Tem a lei de hum Propheta, que gerado
> Foi sem fazer na carne detrimento
> Da Mãi, tal que por bafo está approvado
> Do Deos, que tem do mundo o regimento.
>
> They hold a Prophet's law who was begot
> Sinless nor stained with carnal detriment
> His Mother; and that same the Word they wot
> O' the God who sways the world omnipotent.
>
> *Captain R. Burton.*

Barros then says that the Moors, forewarned by auguries of the ruin the Portuguese would bring upon them and upon Malabar, persuaded and bribed the Catual to thwart the Portuguese; and the first thing he did was to prohibit the Portuguese from going out of their house on the beach into the town, giving as a reason the danger of their getting into a quarrel with the Moors. Vasco da Gama, seeing these delays, asked to be dismissed without any cargo of spices, since it was sufficient for him to bring back news to the King of Portugal, and Monzaide advised him to get away before the large Arab ships arrived from the Red Sea. The Catual then informed the Zamorin that in general all the people in Calicut who came from the west said that the Portuguese were corsairs rather than merchants, that they were men banished from their own country, and that the letters which they had given under the name of embassage were a fiction to conceal their infamy as vagabonds, that it was not in reason that a king so distant as was the west of the country of the Franks should send an embassy which had no other foundation than a desire for friendship with the King of Calecut; and this very circumstance showed that it could not be, for one reason for friendship was communication between persons, and assistance in action,

was conducting him to the King's palace. The Catual went leisurely, because eight men whom the captain-major took

and in this case there was the great difference between their respective creeds, and the distance between the states: and a king so great and powerful as the King of Portugal was represented by them to be, gave a bad sign of his power in the present which he had sent, which was rather that of a simple merchant, and any merchant from the Straits gave a better one: they had brought no goods in proof of their being merchants, and it was better not to lose the profits which they already had from the Moors for the promises of men who dwelled in the extremities of the earth and required two years of navigation to arrive. . . . . The Zamorin, on reflection, sent for Vasco da Gama, and urged him to tell him the truth, whether he was in reality a banished man, and that if so he would assist him, and whether it was true that he had no king, and was more of a corsair than a merchant. Vasco da Gama did not let him go on further, and said that it was no wonder the King of Calecut's vassals thought such things, from the great novelty of people who were new to them in religion and customs, and who had come by a way never before navigated, with an embassage from a powerful king who did not pretend to more than their friendship, and to giving them a new outlet for their spices, because Portugal was so rich in men, arms, horses, gold, silver, silk, and other things necessary to human life, that they did not require to seek those of other men, especially so remote as those of India. But that hearing of the fame of the Zamorin his King had sent him to him, and that in the thousand six hundred leagues of coast which the King of Portugal had discovered, in which there had been found many Gentile kings and princes, he had required nothing of them, except to instruct them in the faith of Christ Jesus, in whose service he undertook this enterprise of new discoveries. And besides this benefit of salvation of souls which the King, D. Manuel, procured for those kings and peoples, he also sent them ships laden with things which they did not possess; in return for which his captains brought him others which were in those countries. By which exchanges those kingdoms which accepted his friendship, from being barbarian became polished, from weak became powerful, and instead of poor, rich; all at the cost of the labour of the Portuguese. In this his King only sought for the glory of doing great things for the service of his God, and the fame of the Portuguese.* As to the Moors, as they were their enemies, they had

* The history of a very few years later shewed how false this language was. Vasco da Gama may have deceived himself; yet the same language has been repeated, with the same consequences. The latest occasion on which the language has been used, was last month, in advocacy of extending the objects of the Abyssinian expedition. (Dec. 3, 1867.)

with him, in woollen jackets, with sticks in their hands, were getting tired. He had not chosen that they should carry

taken from them four principal fortresses in the kingdom of Fez by force of arms; and on that account the Moors everywhere reviled the name of Portuguese, and maliciously sought their death. Such treachery they had not met with from the heathen, because they were naturally friends of the Christians, and conformed with them in many of their customs, and in the fashion of their temples, as he had seen in this kingdom of Calecut. Even the King of Calecut's Brahmans, in the religion which they held of the Trinity of three Persons and one only God, which amongst the Christians was the foundation of all their faith, conformed with them (though in another very different manner) [*Barros' parenthesis*], which thing the Moors contradict. And the King of Portugal had so long desired to make the discovery of the way from Portugal to India, that even if he, Gama, should not return, by reason of any disaster, he knew for certain that the King would prosecute this discovery until he got information of the Zamorin. He therefore begged the Zamorin to use his power to protect them against the hatred of the Moors, and not allow them to be the cause of lighting up war in these parts. The Zamorin listened very attentively to all these words of Vasco da Gama, looking much at the temperance with which he spoke, and the fervour and constancy of the man, in order to form a conjecture as to their truth. As he was a prudent man, and wished also in part to satisfy the Moors, he desired Vasco da Gama to return to his ships, where he would send him the reply to his embassage. He added that, for the present, this seemed most suitable for Vasco da Gama himself, since he had confessed that there was hatred between the Portuguese and the Moors; and if the Portuguese remained in the city, they might exchange words which might be the cause of their receiving some injury, against his will, at which he would be displeased; and with this he dismissed him.

The Catnal then conducted Vasco da Gama out of Calicut, under the show of accompanying him half way to the place of his embarcation; and he had secretly ordered the officers of the King, who were in Capocate, where he took leave of him, to detain him, like men who did that in their conrse of duty. When Vasco da Gama saw himself detained, it appeared to him that it was rather at the instigation of the Moors than by the orders of the Zamorin, and he began to complain seriously to the officers; but they said that he complained without cause, and that it was their duty as King's officers to look to the good and safety of the country; for they did not detain him with the intention of annoying him, but from apprehension that he would cause some annoyance or injury to the people of the country after he got to his ships, according as it was said that they had done in the ports where they had touched; and if he and

swords, which the Nairs had much requested of him. Neither did the captain-major wear anything else than a tunic of red

his people were peaceable people, they ought to follow the custom of those parts, especially in the winter season, and beach their ships, and not always remain with the yards hoisted, like people who had the design of committing some evil. To this Vasco da Gama answered, that his ships had keels, and were not of the build of those of the country, and therefore it was impossible to beach them, as they had not got the tackle and fittings which they had in Portugal for that purpose. Finally, they were so urgent as to beaching the ships, or leaving on shore some men with goods, in the manner of hostages, until the Zamorin should dismiss him, saying that the seafaring men required it in order to be able to fish in security with respect to them, that Vasco da Gama agreed to leave on shore, with a small qnantity of the goods whieh they carried for buying provisions, Diogo Dias as factor, Alvaro de Braga as elerk, Fernan Martins the interpreter, and four men of his service, until he saw how the Zamorin despatched him. Those who carried out this business, since they saw that they had put themselves in security, consented to Vasco da Gama's re-embarking; bnt they put all manner of artifiees in the way to prevent Diogo Dias from buying anything, so that for six or seven days they were rather prisoners than factors. Vasco da Gama complained of this to the Catual, who gave excuses and feigned ignorance of it. The Catnal also advised his removing the factors to Calecut where there was plenty of merchandise, and going with his ships from Capocate to before Calecut, where he would be nearer the Zamorin. Vasco da Gama, though he felt that these artifiees were delays to detain him nntil the arrival of the Red Sea ships, nevertheless moved his ships to before Calecut in order more easily to communicate with the Zamorin and to know what his factors were doing. Vaseo da Gama hearing from Monzaide that the Moors would have already killed them had they not feared to anger the Zamorin, and seeing that the Zamorin had forgotten to despatch him and that his business was in a bad way, held a council with his brother and Nicholas Coelho; and after it, wrote through Monzaide to Diogo Dias that he was to come as secretly as possible on sueh a day before morning to the beach where he would find boats to piek him up. But as the Moors kept wateh on them, they perceived them and arrested them, taking what goods they were carrying with them. Vasco da Gama upon this seized twenty and odd fishermen who came to sea to fish, and set sail with them, which was a great satisfaction to the Moors at seeing the disturbance it caused to the Gentile Malabars, and the cries of the fishermen's wives. (Here Camoens varies slightly from Barros, and says the men seized by Vasco da Gama as reprisals for the factors were old and rich merchants of Calecut who had

satin, and an overcoat of scarlet cloth, and a scarlet cloth cap. Thus they went by roads which the Catual took, with

come to the ships to sell precious stones.*) This affair reached the ears of the Zamorin at once, the Moors saying that now he would see what the Portuguese really were, and as the Malabar women clamoured for their fathers and husbands, the Zamorin sent two principal men of the Gentiles to get information. These reported to him that Vasco da Gama seemed rather to have taken these people as reprisals for his own men than for any other motive, especially as he was under sail standing off and on the shore as if he would give satisfaction if they gave it to him. The Zamorin sent these same men for Diogo Dias and the others with him, and spoke to them of the method of despatching them, and bid them write to Vasco da Gama to treat well the men he had taken as his men were well treated, and with the Zamorin, who would despatch his business through them. Gama remained well satisfied with this letter; however, he made some more tacks out to sea to increase the clamour of the parties interested in the liberty of his captives, and then anchored before the city. Finally, the Zamorin despatched Diogo Dias to Vasco da Gama with a letter which he had written to the King Dom Manuel, in which he said that he had received his letter and heard his ambassador, and had answered him; and that the cause of his departure in that manner was the ancient differences between Christians and Moors; that he would feel much satisfaction at possessing his friendship and trading in the things of his country, if it could be without those scandals, because he held the Moors as being natives of his kingdom, as they were people employed in that branch of commerce since very ancient times. With this letter and a few things which he gave to Diogo Dias he dismissed him, sending two Gentile gentlemen to deliver him and his companions and the goods which had been detained to Vasco da Gama, and receive from him the fishermen. This they did with some precautions in the method of the delivery, as the Moors were still bent on their artifices. But when all our men were regained, on account of some goods which they would not give up, Vasco da Gama retained certain Indians whom he brought with him, and also the faithful Monzaide, and departed that day, which was the 29th of August, seventy-four days having elapsed since his arrival at the city of Calecut.† (Camoens also says

* Castanheda also says that Gama, on looking out for hostages, first thought of taking four young men who came to sell jewels; but he let them go after receiving them well, and later detained six persons of distinction who came in a boat with nineteen men.

† Castanheda says that Gama refused to take his merchandise, and retained his prisoners as a proof of his discovery. Chap. xxiv.

many turns, until it became night, when they stopped at some large houses, where they lodged the captain-major and

that Gama carried off by force some Malabar men and also Monzaide, and some pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and cinnamon as proofs of his discovery, which he had obtained through Monzaide: Correa related this (p. 175) of Davané. In the next chapter, Barros says that Gama, on leaving Calecut, set up a landmark named Santa Maria on some small islands close to the coast, since one named S. Gabriel, which he had sent to the Zamorin by Diogo Dias to be set up in the city of Calecut was not likely to be left standing by the Moors for many hours. Here Gama found some fishermen, and sent by them a letter written to the Zamorin by the hand of Monzaide, in which he complained of the deceit practised in restoring the merchandise, a good part of which had remained on shore (Barros had before said that the whole quantity sent was but little), and that the Zamorin should not take it ill that he carried away with him some of his subjects, because it was not with the object of reprisals for the goods, but in order that the King his sovereign might through them be informed of the State of Calecut, and by the same means the Zamorin might learn the affairs of Portugal, when he or some other captain returned to his city, which he hoped would be the following year, for the confusion of the Moors. Castanheda gives the same account of a letter which he says was written by Bomtaibo in Arabic, on the Monday, 10th of September, to the King of Calecut, because Gama thought they would require his friendship if they returned there, and that it was necessary to use some ceremony with him.

Camoens, Canto VIII, 60.

Sobre isto nos conselhos, que tomava
Achava mui contrarios pareceres,
Que n'aquelles, com quem se aconselhava,
Executa o dinheiro seus poderes:
O grande Capitão chamar mandava,
A quem, chegado, disse: Se quizeres
Confessar-me a verdade limpa e nua,
Perdão alcançarás da culpa tua.

61.

Eu sou bem informado, que a embaixada,
Que de teu Rei me déste, que he fingida;
Porque nem tu tens Rei, nem patria amada,
Mas vagabundo vás passando a vida:
Quem da Hesperia ultima alongada,
Rei, ou senhor, de insania desmedida,
Ha de vir commetter com náos e frotas
Tão incertas viagens, e remotas?

his men in a separate inner house in the middle of the other houses, and they gave them poor straw mats upon which to sit. When the captain-major left the factory, the Castilian passing by Joan Nũz, who came last of all, said to him, "Sufrir y callar" (endure and be silent). This he repeated to the captain-major as they were coming along the road, at

62.

E, se de grandes reinos poderosos
O teu Rei tem a regia magestade,
Que presentes me trazes valerosos,
Signaes de tua incognita verdade?
Com peças, e dons altos sumptuosos
Se lia dos Reis altos a amizade;
Que signal, nem penhor não he bastante
As palavras de hum vago navegante.

63.

Se por ventura vindes desterrados,
Como já foram homens de alta sorte,
Em meu reino sereis agasalhados;
Que toda a terra he patria para o forte:
Ou se piratas sois ao mar usados,
Dizei-mo sem temor de infamia, ou morte;
Que, por se sustentar em toda idade,
Tudo faz a vital necessidade.

60.

Forthwith a council he conven'd, but found
Discordant sentiments alone prevail'd;
For gold among his faithless Counsellors
Its pow'rful influence had exercis'd.
The great commander, then, the Samorim
Summon'd, and thus address'd: "If thou to me
The pure unvarnish'd truth wilt now confess,
Pardon for thy offence thou shalt obtain;

61.

For well am I inform'd this embassy,
Which thou pretendest by thy King is sent,
Is a mere fiction. Neither King hast thou,
Nor belov'd country; for thy life is pass'd
In lawless roving. From Iberia
Would any Sovereign with sense endued,
Hither send Missions, and confide his fleets
To seas unknown, remote and unexplor'd?

which he was irritated. They remained thus sitting in the house, upon the mats, for a considerable part of the night. Then they brought them boiled rice upon fig-leaves, with boiled fish; and they shut the door outside, and no one spoke to them any more; only they set down inside a jar of water. Some, who were hungry, ate; but the captain-major ate nothing, from his irritation and anger; and he walked up and down almost the whole night, for the house was very close, and the air very still. When it was morning they did not open the door till very late, when the Catual sent to tell him that the King's orders were for him to remain there, as he could not speak to him. The captain-major sent Joan Nūz with a message to the Catual, but they did not permit him to go with it; and they again shut the door until almost midday, when they brought them rice and fish to eat, as before. Then Joan Nūz said to the people who brought it, that they required to go out for their natural wants. They said they would go and tell the Catual; and in a short time they returned with leave for those to go out who wanted;

62.

If, too, thy King the royal sceptre wields
Over dominions great and powerful,
What costly off'rings hast thou to present,
To prove thyself his Representative?
Gifts of inestimable price are wont
The amity of Monarchs to cement;
Nor is such friendship adequately pledg'd
By a mere wand'ring Navigator's word.

63.

If thou art exil'd from thy native land,
(Which oft has been the fortune of the great),
In my dominions thou shalt be receiv'd:
For ev'rywhere the brave a country find;
Or if to piracy thou hast thyself
Devoted, here thou need'st not fear or death
Or infamy; for stern necessity
Life to preserve all means may justify."

Musgrave.

and five went out, who were separated; and each one went with a Nair as a guard, who conducted them to the edge of a thicket, where they were able to retire. After that they again put them in the house, and shut them in; and so they remained all day and the night, and all were very angry at seeing themselves thus prisoners. The captain-major, although his heart was burning with fire, yet dissembled, and put on a good face, telling them not to be angry, because God would deliver them, if it so pleased Him. Next day, in the morning, the Nairs took them away, saying that the Catual had ordered them to go in that direction, and they went amongst thickets until about midday, stifled with the great heat of the sun; and they reached the bank of a river, where they were put into two Indian boats, and they went along a great river which had large villages of houses on both banks. The boat in which five of the Portuguese went, remained behind, and the boat which carried the captain-major arrived at a place where there were some small thatched houses. There they did not let them land; only they remained until some rice was cooked, which they gave them, saying that there was nothing else to eat with it. Some, who were very hungry, ate it; but his great passion did not suffer the captain-major to eat; and they again proceeded along the river. The captain-major was very angry because he did not see the other boat, but he said nothing; and when it was almost night they landed, and were put into a house, and shut in, in the same manner. Joan Nūz asked the Nairs for the other boat; they said that it would come soon.

When a great part of the night had passed, the captain-major was called and told that the Catual wanted him, and they did not allow any one to go with him except the interpreter. As the captain-major was going out, he told the men who remained in the house, who were three in number, to be discreet, and if they removed them from that place

to any other whatsoever to say nothing good or evil, and not to answer anything if they were questioned, and to do no harm even if it should be done to them, because it would be of no advantage to them since there they were. The other men of the other boat were brought and put in another house close to this one, without their having any knowledge about the captain-major, and they shut them up also in a house, and took away their sticks, which they gave up without showing any passion, because Joan de Setubal told them that it was requisite to endure everything and say nothing, but only act as though they were ignorant, and did not feel what was done to them; but they wept with rage because they did not know what had been done with the captain-major. He was conducted for a short distance among the bushes, and the other Nairs remained behind, and he went with one Nair alone by a narrow path through the bushes, so that his heart was much afflicted, and they reached some houses in which he was put alone in a house and shut in. All these vexations were practised upon him, because the Moors who were with the Catual only acted thus in order that the Portuguese might break out into open violence. Whilst the captain-major was thus coming through the thicket with only one Nair, the Moors offered much money to the Catual to order him to be killed; this he did not dare do, saying that if he did such a thing he would be very certain of his own death, which the King would inflict on him and upon all his lineage; and that they well saw how much he was labouring, and into what trouble he was bringing the Portuguese, and how they endured everything without moving against him. This night the captain-major remained alone with very sad thoughts, for he did not know what would become of himself nor what had been done with his men. Next day in the morning they brought him where the Catual was, who was sitting on the couch on which he slept, and

looking very ill-disposed; without speaking to Vasco da Gama, nor bidding him sit down, he kept him standing until they called Joan Nũz to interpret; when he had come, the Catual said to him that a ship had arrived from Mombaza and Quiloa, in which had come respectable merchants who said and certified to the King, that the Portuguese were robbers who went about the sea plundering, and that under the cloak of merchants they entered countries to see if they could plunder, which they had attempted to do in Quiloa and Bombaza; but that they had not allowed them to enter within. On which account the King of Calecut was highly indignant, and had ordered their ships to be taken, and all of them were to be kept prisoners until they confessed the truth to him;[1] therefore the captain-major should tell him the truth, that he might go and relate it to the king. The captain-major, speaking with much assurance and almost laughing, said to the Catual that he should conduct him to the King and he would tell him the truth; and that he was not going to tell to him anything of that which he questioned him about, and that he might go and tell the King so. The Catual rose up with signs of great anger, and asked him why he did not tell it to himself who was questioning him. But the captain-major did not answer anything; neither would he speak at all, although the Catual put many questions to him. Then the Catual again ordered Vasco da Gama to be put in another house by himself, and Joan Nũz

[1] Barros does not notice this; Camoens does, and says:

Canto VIII, 85.

Aos brados, & razoens do capitaõ,
Responde o idolatra, que mandasse
Chegar á terra as naos, que longe estão,
Porque melhor dali fosse, & tornasse.

To all the captain's importunities,
The pagan bids him in a word, command
(For the more ready truck of merchandise)
To have his ships brought close up to the land.

Fanshaw.

in another, and the Catual again sent for Joan Nũz and put many questions to him; but he, who had always been warned by the captain-major as to what he was to say, answered many things beside the purpose. The Catual talked of it with his own people, and said that a man was a brute who did not know how to speak except what he was told to say; and he asked him if the ships contained much merchandise. He replied that they contained a good deal of the same as what was in the factory. Then they again put him in the house; and the Catual took counsel with the Moors, as to the advisableness of making the Portuguese disembark all the merchandise that they had got, and then they would go and tell the King that he ought to take it, which he would do as he was very covetous, and then they would tell him that they had information that the Portuguese were robbers who went about plundering by sea and land, and that he should command them all to be executed, and their ships to be taken, and then there would remain in his hands great riches which would be found in the ships; and that afterwards no one could do him any harm on that account. This seemed good to the Moors, who gave presents of rich jewels to the Catual to act in that manner. But the Catual only spoke thus to the Moors in order to extract from them the large sums which they gave him, for he well knew that although the King was very covetous, and might easily practise some exaction upon them, yet to take their ships and put them to death, that he would never do, because he would not choose to incur so great a stain upon his honour. The Catual made these calculations; and, desiring to see what course he could take, he spoke to the captain-major the next day, and told him that the King had commanded that Vasco da Gama should have all the merchandise which he had got in the ships brought on shore and put in the factory, and after that he would give him the whole of his cargo in four days, and then he should depart immediately.

To this the captain-major replied that he would do what the King commanded, and that it was necessary to send a message to the ships for them to send the merchandise. Then the Catual went to other houses a little distance off close to the sea, where the Portuguese were who had remained in the house and those who had come in the boat which had been separated, and neither party knew anything of the other, and they placed them in other houses close by [where the captain-major was]. Since, during all these days, neither the factor nor any of the Portuguese knew what had become of the captain-major, they went about very sorrowfully because they did not know what had been done to him; and they were very sad because no message came; and the factor spoke of it to the overseer of the treasury, who told him that the King was a long way off, and for that reason there was this delay, for the overseer did not know anything, and truly thought that the captain-major was with the King, who was at a distance of two leagues thence. Then the Catual told the Moors the answer which the captain-major had given him, and that he was as calm and as little angry as if he had not felt anything, though he had done so many things to him and to his men, and they did not utter a word. The Moors then said that he should let the captain-major send a man to the ships to bring ashore the merchandise; and if they did not bring it, then they would be justified in going and telling the King that he had promised to bring all the merchandise on shore, and now would not bring it, because he did not trust the King's good faith; and with this they could also tell the other things, which would make the King indignant, so that at least he would not give the Portuguese any more cargo, so that they would immediately discover the design which they entertained. Then the Catual told the captain-major that he had sent to inform the King of what he, the captain major, had said, and that the King was satisfied, but that he ordered that he should not

reembark until all the cargo was complete. At which the captain-major shewed much pleasure, and said that the King did him a great favour, and acted like a good friend and brother of the King his sovereign. Then the Catual, seeing the satisfaction of the captain-major, was pleased at seeing him content, and sent for the Portuguese to come from where they were to the captain-major, and all were much delighted because the captain-major made them a sign to that effect. He then sent Joan de Setubal to the ship in an Indian boat which the Catual gave him, for this place was about a league distant from the factory; and he told him to tell his brother all that had happened, and the state in which he was; and therefore he was to send the Indian boat laden with merchandise of all sorts; and if he saw that they did not allow him, Vasco da Gama, to go on board, he was to take back the factor, and nobody was to go on shore, and he was to keep a good guard over the hostages. This had been done; for after the captain-major went on shore, Paulo da Gama had not again allowed them to come out of the cabin. They indeed had desired to escape, if they had been able, for the Catual had sent them word to do so through the boys who brought them their food from the shore. Joan de Setubal gave the message to Paulo da Gama, who was furious when he knew what had happened; but he at once sent the Indian boat laden with merchandise, and Joan de Setubal remained on board the ship, as the captain-major had told him to do; and the Indian boat with the merchandise came to land where the Catual was, who, on seeing the boat laden with goods, sent it to the factory; and the negroes told the factor that the captain-major was there enjoying himself with the Catual, and that he ordered all the merchandise to be brought on shore. So the factor rejoiced very much, and sent to tell the captain-major that he had sent to the ship for goods, and that they had not sent any because they had not got his orders, and therefore

it would be necessary for him to go to the ship to have the merchandise sent, because they had sent to tell him that they were not going to send any more. The captain-major was put out at this message, and told the Catual to give him many Indian boats, with which he would shortly return with all of them laden in superabundance, because nothing that he brought on shore had to return to the ships, and whatever was over and above would remain for him and for the Gozil and the overseer of the treasury; and that he, the Catual, would have all the merchandise in his hands until the cargo was completed. The Catual, covetous of this, ordered ten large Indian boats, in which the captain-major was going to embark; but the Catual would not consent to it, and told him to send the Portuguese men in the boats, and that only the interpreter and two others should remain with him; and that when the boats came with the merchandise, then he would send him on board at once. At this the captain-major dissembled, and shewed no passion; and he sent to say to his brother that he was of opinion that even though he were to send the boats full of goods, they would not let him go; and therefore, if it should be so, he required him, for God's sake, and as his own brother by blood he much entreated him, that when he saw clearly that they did not intend to let him embark, that he should at once send the hostages on shore with much honour and with gifts, and that he should immediately make sail; and if they did not set him at liberty upon the arrival of the hostages, he was then to return to the kingdom, and give information to the King of what had been done; and if he, Vasco da Gama, remained behind, and were killed, nothing was lost; but if Paulo da Gama did not go back to Portugal, so great a benefit would be lost, that he would have to give an account of it to God; therefore he was to do nothing else except depart, because if he remained there in the port, it would be the cause of their killing him, or torturing him, to obtain

the delivery of the ships or the merchandise; or what was most certain, many ships which were in the port would go out to fight them, for which the Moors would make great efforts. Paulo da Gama, on receiving this message from his brother, ordered the men to come on board the ship, and would not send out any more goods; and he wrote a letter to the captain-major saying that without him he would not depart from the port; and for this he would spend his life and the ships, for all the crew were ready to die together for this matter;[1] therefore Vasco da Gama was not to send him any orders, because in this he should do only what would seem to all of them for the best; therefore let the Catual undeceive himself, because if he did not at once set him at liberty, they would make war, and destroy all the ships that were in the port. The captain-major rejoiced much at this letter. The Catual, seeing that the boats returned without anything, asked the captain-major why, and he replied that the captain of the ship would not give any merchandise until he went on board. At this the Catual became very melancholy. He then went to the factory, and took the factor and clerk, with the three men who were with them, and the captain-major with three others, and took them to the house of the Gozil, and delivered them up into his keeping whilst he went to tell the King of the affront which they had given him. Then the Catual went to the King, and said to him: "Sire, since I belong to you, all these days I have been labouring for your service, and I had brought much merchandise on shore from the ships; and the ambassador, with falsehood, promised that he would cause to be brought on shore all the merchandise he had got in the ships, which was so much that there would remain

[1] Castanheda gives a similar account of Paulo da Gama's resolution to rescue his brother; he however says that the merchandise was sent on shore with Diogo Diaz, the factor, and Alvaro de Braga, his clerk, upon which Gama was released and returned to the ships.

some over and above, and all that remained in excess was to be for you. And when all was thus agreed upon, I sent ten boats to the ships, and the men who went in them did not choose to return, and sent back the boats empty, and said that the ambassador and factor, and all that was in the factory, were to be sent to them immediately, because, if they were not sent, they would at once make war, and burn all the ships that were in the port. On which account I have spoken to the Moors, who are the owners of the ships; and all offer themselves to fight, and take or burn the Portuguese ships." This the Moors also repeated to the King, and they certified to him that the Portuguese were robbers, and with falsehood went about thus giving presents in order to see and spy countries and peoples, and then they committed their evil deeds; and that the goods which were in the factory ought to be given up for the injuries which they had committed at sea. But the Moors did not desire to have anything, but only that the King should order it all to be taken and collected for himself. When the King heard this, he at once ordered the goods in the factory to be brought in, and commanded that the captain-major and the others should be put to death. His Brahman and the overseer of the treasury hindered him in this, and said: "Sire, do not command such a thing to be done, for you have no reason for it; because, even though all that the Catual says were true, yet up to this time the Portuguese have done no harm, but rather, like good people, have been very mild and peaceable. Look, that they gave you so rich a present that such an one was never given in all India. Let this matter be; and whenever you see that they do harm, then execute your will." Upon this there were long debates, for the Moors wished to make war at once; however, it seemed best to the King to wait until the Portuguese should first commence to do injury.

Paulo da Gama, seeing that the boats brought nothing,

but on the contrary brought word that they had seen the factor go away with many people, and the door of the factory shut up, all felt much anger, not knowing what was going on on shore; and so they remained all night, keeping a careful watch. Next day Paulo da Gama called all to a council, and he spoke to all of them of the message which his brother had sent him, whom he valued so much, and much more than his own life, and said that to go away and abandon him was so strong a measure, that he would die sooner than return to Portugal; and that he knew the temperament of his brother, who would give a hundred lives in exchange so long as that the King his sovereign were informed of what he had already done; and for his part the greatest danger which he saw for the lives of those that were on shore would be if they were to move and do any injury, such as it was in their power to do, to the ships in the harbour; and that he had reflected much npon this during the night, and had determined on setting the hostages at liberty, and on sending them ashore with much honour, for it might be that this might bring some advantage, and that they might let our men go, or at least do them no harm. This seemed good to them all, and they agreed that in any case this should be done. Upon this Nicolas Coelho offered to go on shore with them, trusting to what God might please, because if they did not set free the captain-major, he intended to remain with him. This decision was at once put in execution, and Paulo da Gama brought the Nairs out of the cabin and said to them that the King had sent them to remain there in pledge until the ambassador returned to the ship, and in case of any harm being done him on shore, for their heads to be cut off; and he asked whether they knew that this was so. They answered, yes: that there they were, and if any harm were done to the ambassador on shore, the Portuguese might cut off their heads if they pleased, for they were men who had brothers

and relations on shore who would revenge their deaths, even upon the person of the King. Then Paulo da Gama related to them all that the Catual had done to the ambassador, which the King did not know of; but that since the King had wicked and traitorous servants and people who without any fear of him did such things, he would depart immediately and return to his country, and they might do what they pleased with the Portuguese who remained on shore; and since they, the Nairs, were men of gentle birth, let them look well to what was so requisite for their own honour, and complain much to the King of the contumely which he would be heaping upon them; and they were to tell the King, that he might know for certain that their King was so good, that for the love of one man alone he would send to take vengeance for him as far as the extremity of the world, and let him know of a surety that they would take a great revenge since their ambassador had gone on shore to offer so rich a present, under the King's peace and good faith, which he broke like a base man, and did not keep faith, and did not act like the great King of Calecut, of whose greatness so much had been told them in Melinde. But now, in all the countries to which they went, they would relate his frauds and falsehood; and that he was a king who deceived foreign people, and that he did not possess the goodness and truth of the good King of Melinde: that he was going away, and let the King take good care of those that remained on shore, for he swore by the head of the King his sovereign that he would have to pay dearly for them. Then he gave to each of the Nairs a red cap, a knife and sheath, three ells of red satin, and a gold portuguese, and sent them in the boat, to put them on shore if they found an Indian boat. The Nairs seeing that they were well paid as if they had rendered great service, and that the ships intended to depart, begged much of Paulo da Gama not to leave, but to wait until they had got on shore

and spoken to the King. He replied that he was not going to wait for anything, that he knew now that Calecut had a treacherous king. The boat carried them close to the shore, and they called an Indian boat, which carried them to the beach, and the boat returned to the ships, which made sail leisurely, with a light wind which was a land breeze off shore, and as it was now afternoon it was slight; and they stood out of the port under foresails and mizens, and soon after the wind fell altogether, and changed to a sea breeze, with which they again came to anchor, a league from the shore.[1] The Nairs, on arriving before the King, in the presence of his court, repeated all to him just as Paulo da Gama had spoken, and they said that if he were going to order the ambassador to be put to death, that he should say so, because then they would at once kill themselves there before him, since he the King had given them as pledges of his good faith, and they, trusting to it, had staked their heads, and they owed them, and it was not right that they should keep them, since he had not kept faith; and that he ought to look well at this so great damage that he would be doing to his honour, since the Portuguese had done no harm in his country, but had given him the most valuable present which had ever been given to a king of Calecut; and he should consider what the Portuguese would say of him wherever they went, which would be a very ill report, the chief part of which would be that he had wished to rob them of their goods which they had brought on shore. The overseer of the treasury supported the Nairs much in this statement, and the Gozil also, to whom the Nair his nephew made much remonstrance. The King, on hearing this, and seeing that the ships were departing without the injury which the Moors announced, repented of what he had done, seeing, too, the clamour of

[1] Castanheda describes the ships as standing out to sea and anchoring before Calicut.

the Nairs, and he summoned before him the broker who was with the factor. He, on coming into the King's presence, threw himself at his feet, and said: "Sire, give a great punishment to whoever has counselled you to do so great an evil against your great honour by breaking your faith." The King ordered the factor to be called: he came shortly, and the King told him to go with the overseer of the treasury to see how much merchandise he had in the factory, and he would immediately order it to be paid for. And he sent for Vasco da Gama, and he begged his pardon many times, saying that he had been deceived with bad counsel, and evil reports which had been made against him; but for the deceit which had been practised upon him, he would inflict a good chastisement on those who deserved it, and this he swore he would do; therefore he might embark at once, and go with good wishes. To this the captain-major only replied, that the King should do that which his honour required, because he was a foreign man, and if the King were not so to act, people would speak very ill of him. The King then gave Vasco da Gama a large quantity of fine white stuffs, and pieces of silk, and a gold jewel with rubies and pearls, and so took leave of him, asking his pardon frequently, and saying that if at any time he returned to his country he would hear of the punishment which he had inflicted upon those who had given him the bad counsel. While Vasco da Gama was thus going away accompanied by the Nair hostages, they met the factor, who was returning to tell the King that the factory had been robbed, and the captain-major would not suffer the factor to return to the King, for the broker said that the robbery had been done by the King. The captain-major embarked in two Indian boats with all his men, and bade farewell to the overseer of the treasury, and said that if at any time he returned to Calecut he would take his revenge upon those who had done him wrong. The overseer of the treasury said he re-

gretted very much the manner in which he had been treated, but that the King was not in fanlt. The Castilian came up in a hnrry and got into the boats which the Moors had sent, for as a known friend he went with them to the ship to see the design which they entertained. The captain-major was very glad to see the Castilian, and on coming to the ships, when the Portuguese saw the captain-major they wept with joy. When all had come on board, the brothers embraced with great delight.

Then the Castilian related that all the evil had been caused by the Catnal of the gate, who, for the large bribes given him by the Moors, had done everything without the King having known or given any orders about it, and had carried them through the woods; subjecting them to those great vexations in order that they might commit some outrage which they could have reported to the King, so that he might have ordered them all to be put to death; but they had preserved themselves by behaving so patiently that the Nairs themselves felt grief for them, and disputed with the Moors; and then, seeing that they did no harm, the Catual went to the King with the accusation of the falsehood, with which the Portuguese refused to bring the merchandise on shore, as they had agreed to do; and he had said so many bad things of them that the King gave orders to put them to death; and it would have been done had not his Brahman prevented it, and after him the overseer of the treasury; and they should give great thanks and praise to the Lord for having delivered them from snch great risk in which they had been placed. Then the captain-major gave to the Castilian five portugueses of gold and ten ells of scarlet cloth, and fonr red caps; and he gave him a signed document, which said: "Portuguese gentlemen, this Castilian, named Alonso Perez, is onr sincere friend; therefore place all confidence in him, because I have fonnd in him all good faith, as he is a faithful Christian." This he signed, and the

Castilian was more pleased with it than with all the rest, and promised that he would fulfil that which the document said. The captain-major promised him that if he returned to India, and found him there, he would do for him what he deserved; and he told him to say to the Moors, that for love of them he would come back to India; and that the evils which they had procured for him would be their destruction, as they would see, and they might keep it in their remembrance. With this he dismissed the Castilian, who, on arriving on shore, told the Moors of the great hatred and spite against them which the Portuguese were carrying away with them; and that they went away swearing that if they returned to India they would revenge themselves, and the Moors should pay them for the robbery which the King had committed in the factory, since they had been the cause of all. He told the overseer of the treasury that the Portuguese spoke very highly of him, and without doubt, if they came back to India, he would find a good friend in them, on account of the sincerity they had always experienced from him. The things which the Castilian related were repeated to the King, for which reason he sent for him, and the Castilian gave him an account of it all. The King then recognising the error which he had committed, desired to give the satisfaction which his honour required; and as the ships were at anchor, waiting for a wind, the King sent the Castilian with one of his Brahmans, of very great credit, in an Indian boat, with great haste, to tell the captain-major that he felt very great regret for what had happened; but that he had arrested the person whose fault it was, and he would inflict upon him the punishment which he would see; therefore he greatly entreated him to return to the port, because he would send on board his ship all the goods required to complete the lading of the ships, and all the goods which had remained on shore, for he did not wish them to go away speaking ill of him. The captain-major answered that he

was not going to return to the port, and that he was going back to his country to relate to his King all that had happened to him, and he would tell him the truth, which was that all had been caused by the treachery of his own people with the Moors; and if at any time he should return to Calecut, he would revenge himself upon the Moors who had done all the harm; with which he dismissed the messengers, saying that he would tell his King of the good compliments of the King of Calecut now that he had repented of his error. As there was a fair wind the ships set sail, and they gave great praise to the Lord who had delivered them from so great perils, and they were content, although the ships were only half laden, for the masters said that so they sailed very well, because the ships were old and would not have been very safe if fully laden. The captain-major said that with only ten quintals of each kind of goods that he carried he was very well satisfied, and that the Lord had shown him great favour in granting him what he had got, which was sufficient for the King to be certain that he had discovered India; and if the Lord were pleased in His mercy to bring them to Portugal, then the King could order the ships to be fully laden. So they went running down the coast. The King of Calecut remained with much inclination to use severity against the Moors in respect to their merchandise, but did not dare to give them offence lest they should go out of his country, by which he would have incurred great loss. Then, as he thought that the Portuguese would go to Cananor, he wrote a letter to the King, giving him an account of the error he had committed against our men, with many excuses to the effect that the Moors had been the cause of it, and that he sent to make great entreaty of the Portuguese to return to his country to see the punishment which he gave to those who were in fault, and in order to complete the cargo of the ships with the goods which remained on shore, which they had re-

fused to do, on which account he felt much regret, and if the Portuguese went to Cananor, he requested him to tell them all this on his behalf. To which the King of Cananor answered that he would do so.

CHAPTER XVIII.

How the Portuguese went to the port of Cananor, and saw the King, and of what happened with him, and what they settled.

While the Portuguese were at Calecut, the King of Cananor always knew all that happened to them, because he had sent people for that purpose to write to him everything. The Moors of Cananor, who received information from those of Calecut, in order to indispose the inclination of the King, used to tell him many lies about the Portuguese, that they used violence and arrogance in Calecut, and many other false tales with respect to which the King knew the truth. For which reason, one day that the Moors were thus relating these things to him, he said that no one should tell him lies, because he would order his head to be cut off for it. The King said this because he had already settled in his heart that he would establish as much peace with the Portuguese as they might be willing, because he was always talking to his soothsayers, who continually repeated what they had said to the King, and they said to him that the evils done in Calecut caused by the Moors would doubtless grow, and that the Portuguese would always do much harm to Calecut, and would destroy the Moors throughout India, and would turn them out of India, and they would never again possess the navigation which they now had. The King said that if that came to pass, that he also would receive great losses to his kingdom. The soothsayers said to him and gave great assurances that so it would be, be-

cause the Portuguese would be masters of the sea, and that no one would be able to navigate upon it unless they were friends of the Portuguese, and that whoever were their enemies would be destroyed at sea and on the land, and that they were telling him the truth, and he should take counsel and do what appeared to him to be for the best.[1] The Portuguese, then, running along the coast with land and sea breezes, which was in November of 1498, found themselves one morning in sight of Cananor, far out at sea, and the King had kept boats out at sea lest they should pass by night; the land breeze began to fall and the ships became becalmed until there sprung up a change of wind from the sea which brought them to land, and they came before the port of Cananor.[2] When the ships were sighted, the King at once sent to them a large boat, which they call a parao, with a good crew, in which he sent a Nair of his with a message to the captains, begging them much and supplicating them by the life of the King their sovereign, not to pass by without going to his port to see him, because it was very necessary for a great good, and also for them to refit themselves, for he already knew the evil which had been done them in Calecut, which he regretted very much.

[1] The following lines from a Persian Kasidah, or ode of Niamet Ullah Wely, written in the year 570 A.H. or 1174 A.D., may be given as an instance of the sayings of the soothsayers referred to in the text.

The nation of the Christians shall seize upon the whole of Hindostan.
Then, when tyranny and innovation shall have become a custom among them,
The King of the West shall fight against them victoriously,
Between them there shall be great wars,
The Christians without doubt shall be defeated,
Islam shall remain victorious for forty years in the realm of Hind;
After that Dajal shall appear in Isfahan,
To drive out Dajal—listen to what I say,—
Jesus comes, and the Mehdy of the End of Time shall come.

[2] Goes, Castanheda, Barros, and Camoens take Vasco da Gama away from the Indian coast on leaving Calecut; none of them say anything of Cananor.

Following after this message, he sent many boats with jars of water and wood, figs, fowls, cocoa-nuts, dried fish, butter, and cocoa-nut oil, and a message to say that if they would not listen to his request to come and speak to him, he begged them to take these things which he had sent, and which they required for their voyage; and since they were merchants, they made a great mistake in not completely filling their ships with a cargo of the goods they had come in search of, and that he would give them as much as they wanted, and they would not be losing any time for their voyage; and he would be surprised, since they were men of good understanding if they rejected his friendship, so he entreated them much and would give them the merchandise at a much better price, and in better condition than what had been given them in Calecut, because he desired to establish a sincere peace and friendship with them. The good brothers having heard this message, for the captain-major as yet went in his brother's ship, both held a council, and settled to have an interview with the King, and to establish with him peace and trade, since that was what they had come in quest of; and they went on till they arrived at the port, and anchored, with the ships dressed out with flags and standards, and they fired salutes with chambers[1] towards

[1] *Camaras:* these were tubes or cylinders which received the charge and were introduced into the breech of the cannon, sometimes fitted by pressure, at other times by screwing; as is mentioned by Diego Ufano, in his *Treatise on Artillery*, Brussels, 1617, p. 15: "The *parafuso* (screw-gun) of Lisbon is likewise a piece of ordnance.........but the chamber is with a screw fitting." Further on he says of this gun called parafuso—"Its form shows well how much labour there was in fitting it with its chamber or breech, the charge of which was always made and fashioned after the method used for loading with cartridges or little bags of stuff." See also Cibrario, *Frammenti Storici*, Torino, 1856, p. 406, etc., who mentions *camaras* and *mascolos*, which are the same as camaras. Cibrario also says that every bombard had a spare chamber to change with the one already discharged.

Thus the *camara* was a separate piece of metal which was adjusted to

the outside, not to do any harm to the shipping. The King, who saw this from the beach, was much pleased, and immediately sent one of his ministers to visit the Portuguese and convey to them many thanks for having come to the port, and to entreat of them to complete the taking in of the ships' cargoes with what suited them best, as he would give them of everything; and they were not to omit to take these goods, even though they might not have wherewith to pay for it; because he would give it all if they would swear by the head of their King and sovereign that when they returned to India they would come to his city to take cargo, and establish peace and the friendship of a brother between him and their King, for which purpose he was ready to see them whenever they pleased, and this they ought to do since it so much suited them. To this the Portuguese replied with many compliments and thanks, saying that they would do everything that he de-

the cannon, and there were some which served for firing salutes independently of their cannon.

The passage in the text might perhaps also be translated—They fired salutes with chambers outside [*the guns*] so as not to hurt their ships.

From the following passage of Gaspar Correa's *History of Pedralvares Cabral*, 1500, it will be seen that these chambers served like modern cartridges for rapidly loading breech-loading guns. "As all (the boats) were going in good order, and Nicolas Coelho in the van, he ordered the guns to be fired. The bombardier had not well covered up the chambers which he carried loaded, and he set fire to them, so that all went off with the balls which they carried, which wounded the sailors, and some men were burned, and the boat was stove in, and would have gone to the bottom if the others had not crowded up, and they took it between other boats, and returned to the ships. This the captain-major took for an omen, and he did not choose that they should return against the [Indian] ships."

Colonel A. Lane Fox informs me that this practice of firing the chambers for salutes has continued to the present day, and the guns now fired in St. James's Park on the Queen's birthday are these identical chambers of the ancient Bombards, which have been used ever since; and it is to be hoped that the ancient custom of firing these chambers will never be given up.

sired, only if he would excuse the interview between them, which was a thing that could not be, because the King their sovereign forbade them ever going on shore without first having established peace and friendship by means of signed letters with which he could be satisfied, and therefore in all the rest of what the King of Cananor might desire they would do everything in accordance with his pleasure. With this they gave a list of the things which were wanting to complete the cargo, and also of what they wanted for the voyage. Immediately, on the following day, the King sent to them in paraos all that they had asked for, with superfluity, so that they sent some back ashore. The captain-major seeing such generosity and such demonstrations on the part of the King, desired to overcome him in liberality, and without weighing or reckoning he sent him in the same paraos so large a quantity of branch coral, vermilion, quicksilver, and brass and copper basins, that the whole was well worth the double of what the King had sent. When the paraos went away from the ships, Nicolas Coelho was sent in a boat with a present to the King, viz., a piece of green cloth, a piece of brown satin velvet, a piece of crimson damask, a large silver basin, thirty scarlet cloth caps, two knives with sheaths, and five ells of darker scarlet cloth. On reaching the beach, the clerk called men, who carried away the present, and the boat returned to the ship without any of the crew having landed, for the captain-major had thus ordered it. The King was much delighted with the present, and said to Nicolas Coelho that the goods which had been sent in excess should be left for them to pay for whenever they pleased, and that he was much pleased with the present, because his heart saw that which it had desired, but that it would not be altogether at rest unless he saw the captains with his own eyes, and he would manage that they should not violate the commands of their King. With this he dismissed Nicolas Coelho, and sent

him to the ships in a parao. Immediately afterwards, with great haste, the King ordered a wooden bridge to be made, which advanced into the sea as much as a cross-bow shot, and very narrow, so that only one man conld pass upon it in front of another, and at its extremity a chamber was made of wrought wood; thither the King came to sit with six or seven persons, for the house would not hold more, and there he could see the ships better, and send everything which they required. Then he sent word to say that he begged the captains very much to come and see him in their boats, since they could do so without any infraction of their King's commands, because he was waiting for them in the water where they could come in their boats withont tonching land. The captains seeing so great a desire on the part of the King, disposed matters for complying with his will, and for making a treaty of peace and friendship, and an agreement as to merchandise, for they bore in mind that if Calecut did not make a good settlement, they could take advantage of Cananor and its capabilities, and from thence they might gain the good will of Calecnt; so that on all accounts it was very necessary to make an agreement with Cananor. They sent to tell the King that they would go and see him whenever he commanded it. The King, with much satisfaction, sent his thanks, and a request that they would come the very next day, and that they would get ready for that purpose. Next day the King came with many people and music, and in state, very richly dressed, and sat down in the chamber, which was hung with rich silken stuffs, and he sat on a dais covered with silk stuffs. The captains came in their boats: they were gaily dressed, and the sailors also wore very splendid clothes, which the captain-major gave them, made of the silk stuffs which the King had given, and there were carpets in the boats and covered chairs, and rugs on the thwarts, on which the crew sat; and the boats carried forked streamers of white and red

damask with the cross of Christ, and the trumpets sounded, and the boats carried their swivel guns, and on leaving the ships they fired salutes with many chambers. As they were coming along, the King's minister, who governs all the kingdom, came to the King, who sent him to accompany the captains, to do them more honour. The captains showed him much respect, and Vasco da Gama took him into his boat and carried him with him. When they reached the chamber where the King was, the two captains made him profound salutations, and remained standing with their caps in their hands. The King rose to them from his seat much pleased, and came to the edge of the planking; and he ordered the boats to come close up, and entreated the captains to come in where he was, which they did as the King requested it so much, and as there were only his chief men with him, about seven or eight persons. When they entered the chamber, the King took them both by the hand, and sat down with them upon his dais, and looked at them with much delight. The King inquired which of them had been a prisoner in Calecut; and Paulo da Gama said: "Sire, this brother of mine it was to whom the King did much harm without his deserving it." The King said that the King of Calecut had sent him a letter begging him, if the Portuguese came to Cananor, to exculpate him, because what had been done had happened without his knowledge, and he had been deceived, at which he had been very angry, and would take great vengeance on those who had given him bad counsel. The captain-major replied: "Sire, when the King gives this punishment we shall see that he speaks the truth; we now no longer remember this, for the time will come that he will repent still more of it." Then Paulo da Gama said, by means of the broker Davané and the Melinde pilot, who interpreted: "Sire, you will have already known who we are, and how we have come to this country, which it is not necessary for us to relate to you more at length:

I only say that we have seen with our eyes that you are truly a good king, without any of the falseness of the King of Calecut, on which account we have come here at your call; and since you show so much goodness in your conduct and actions, we shall be glad to establish with you peace and good friendship, which shall always endure with the King our sovereign, who is so good a king, that when he establishes friendship with any good king, he then becomes like his brother, a friend of his friends, and enemy of his enemies; this sincere friendship being thus established, we will serve you like our own king, which will do likewise, as many of us as may come later to India, as you will see." The King answered him: "There is now in my heart the greatest joy that I ever thought to feel, and within me all is peace and friendship towards your King; therefore I will affirm it in the manner you may desire, according to my custom, because it will give rest to my heart, which has desired this from the first day that I saw your ships, and since I learned what happened to you in Calecut; with the friendship of your King which you will give me, my heart will be very tranquil until I see in this my port other ships which will bring me an answer from your King; and if you promise me this, my desire will be accomplished." Then Paulo da Gama replied: "Sire, the certainty of seeing our ships come to this your port with an answer from our King, God can give it according to his will, because we are going amidst the perils of the sea; but we, who are both sons of one father, we promise you, by God who is in the heavens, and by the head of our King, that if any other ships of our King should come to this port, they will bring with them letters ratifying the security of your peace and brotherhood, which will last for ever as long as you so wish it; all which we two promise in the name of our King from this day forward for ever:[1] and in remembrance of it and as a trust-

[1] The Viceroy Francisco d'Almeida says, in a letter to the King: "I

worthy sign we give you this sword; as such is the custom of our King, who, when he establishes a new friendship, gives a sword to certify its sincerity, because by breaking it he would remain with the loss of his honour, since all honour is gained with the sword. For which reason, from this day forward for ever peace and friendship with you remain secured on our part." Then they gave him the sword which Paulo da Gama carried: it had a hilt enamelled with gold, and a velvet scabbard with the point sheathed with gold. The King then said that all those words and promises and assurances which they had given to him on behalf of their King, he in the same manner said and affirmed them for ever upon his head and upon his eyes, and by the womb of the mother that bore him: and he at once ordered a gold leaf to be prepared, upon which all these things were written, and which the King and his ministers signed. Then the King gave them a splendid gold collar of jewels and pearls, broad to go upon the shoulders, for the King, it might be worth ten thousand cruzados, and ten pieces of silk with gold thread, a very handsome thing; and he gave to each of the captains a thick round gold chain with a gold jewel set with precious stones, and six gold rings with valuable gems; and to each of them twenty very fine white stuffs; upon which they paid him great compliments and courtesies, and took leave of him. The King also made demonstrations of much affection and satisfaction. The good brothers returned to the ships with very great satisfaction; and two days later the King sent to say that they should send for the letter, which was now finished. Upon this they sent Nicolas Coelho in the boat very well fitted up: he went to the chamber on the sea where the King was, and took with him the broker and the Melinde

built the castle of Cananor and dismantled that of Angediva; the Moors were greatly enraged with the castle of Cananor." *Annaes de Sciencias*, Lisbon, 1858.

pilot, who knew the language of the country very well. The King delivered the letter to him with his own hand, again repeating the words of his oath, and swearing besides by his pagodes, which are their idols, which they adore as gods, that he wonld fulfil everything till his death, and that when he died, he would enjoin it likewise upon his prince; and this so long as that the ships came to his port, and took in cargo of what was to be found in his country, all which he would give them of a good quality, and for the prices which it was worth in the country, and also he would take the merchandise which they gave him; for which they would establish a factory, and in the whole of his country they would be secure, as in the country of an own brother of the King of Portugal. All which the King said was put down in the letter; he saw that Nicolas Coelho wished to write everything, at which he was much pleased, and commanded the letter to be read, and Nicolas Coelho wrote. The King was much pleased to see him write, and the whole translated. Then Coelho gave the paper to the King, who signed it with his hand; and the gold letter was wrapped up, and upon it was put the paper which Nicolas Coelho had written. The King gave to Nicolas Coelho two rings and some fine white stuffs, and dismissed him, sending with him his minister to go and deliver the letter to the captains, to do them greater honour. The captains received him with great respect and ceremony, and the minister kissed the letter, and touched his eyes with it, and placed it on his head, and then gave it into Paulo da Gama's hand, who took it with both hands with great courtesy, and placed it upon his breast. They gave to the minister a piece of scarlet cloth, and another of green satin, and they again sent Nicolas Coelho on shore to carry a present to the King of a silver hand-basin and a chased and gilt ewer, and half a piece of brocade; and to four Nairs who came with the minister they gave red caps and knives

with sheaths; so they went away praising our people highly. When they arrived before the King, who was still in the chamber, and Nicolas Coelho gave him the present, the King and his people were much surprised, and held this to be great liberality, and said that the Portuguese would not do such things unless the King of Portugal possessed great riches. Then the King commanded the minister to send to the ships all that they wanted for their voyage freely for nothing, for which purpose he ordered the broker to remain on shore, and Nicolas Coelho went back to the ships. They were three days taking on board the things they wanted. When about to sail, they dismissed the broker and gave him a document signed by themselves, in which they declared to all the captains of the King of Portugal that Davané the broker, a native of Cambay, was a very good and sincere friend, who had always gone with them until their departure, and they had always found in him much truth, and therefore wherever they might find him they were always to do him great honour, wherever they met with him, whether at sea or in the country in which they signed this. They gave him a hundred cruzados and a hundred testoons, besides all that was due to him, and they gave him goods which were worth as much as five hundred cruzados, and pieces of silk and damask, and a letter in the language of the country, which the pilot spoke, and which specified all this, and which the broker requested to have given him. They also gave him a gold portuguese, and told him to have a hole bored in it, and always to wear it hung round his neck as a remembrance, because that coin was called a portuguese, and was money of the King of Portugal. So the broker remained very well satisfied, and the captain-major said he would send to recommend him highly to the King for him to treat him with honour; and the broker asseverated that when he knew of Portuguese coming to India he would go and seek for them to serve

them; and with that he took leave. Whilst they were thus on the point of departure, two paraos came from the shore for each ship, laden with fowls and many fresh things, which they took in; and by a Nair who brought these things they sent a recommendation of the broker to the King, and through him they took leave of the King with many complimentary speeches. They then loosed the sails and departed, which was on the twentieth of November of the year 1498.[1]

[1] Camoens represents Gama as having been advised by the Castilian Moor to leave the Indian coast before the arrival of the great Arab ships from the Red Sea.

Canto IX, 3.

Gidá se chama o porto, aonde o trato
De todo o Roxo mar mais florecia,
De que tinha proveito grande, e grato
O Soldão, que esse reino possuïa.
Daqui aos Malabares, por contrato
Dos infieis, fermosa companhia
De grandes náos pelo Indico Oceano
Especiaria vem buscar cada anno.

4.

Por estas náos os Mouros esperavam,
Que, como fossem grandes e possantes,
Aquellas, que o commercio lhe tomavam,
Com flammas abrasassem crepitantes:
Neste soccorro tanto confiavam,
Que já não querem mais dos navegantes,
Senão que tanto tempo alli tardassem,
Que da famosa Meca as náos chegassem.

5.

Mas o Governador dos ceos, e gentes,
Que, para quanto tem determinado,
De longe os meios dá convenientes,
Por onde vem a effeito o fim fadado;
Influio piedosos accidentes
De affeição em Monçaide, que guardado
Estava para dar ao Gama aviso,
E merecer por isso o Paraiso.

CHAPTER XIX.

How the ships departed from Cananor and crossing over to Melinde met with calms, and put in, and touched at the island of Angediva: and of that which happened to them there.

The good brothers having set sail from Cananor made their course to Melinde, and having got away from the coast about forty or fifty leagues, the wind fell and they remained in a dead calm, at which they were much put out. Talking of it to the pilots, they said that it was not yet the time of the

6.
Este, de quem se os Mouros não guardavam,
Por ser Mouro, como elles, antes era
Participante em quanto machinavam;
A tenção lhe descobre torpe e fera:
Muitas vezes as náos que longe estavam
Visita, e com piedade considera
O dano, sem razão, que se lhe ordena
Pela maligna gente Sarracena:

7.
Informa o cauto Gama das armadas,
Que de Arabica Meca vem cada anno,
Que agora são dos seus tão desejadas,
Para ser instrumento deste dano:
Diz-lhe, que vem de gente carregadas,
E dos trovões horrendos de Vulcano,
E que pode ser dellas oprimido,
Segundo estava mal apercebido.

3.
Gidá is hight the harbour, where the trade
Of the Red Sea was in most flourishing way,
Whereby was great and grateful gain conveyed
To the Soldán, who o'er the land held sway.
Hence to the Malabars, by contract made
With th' Infidels, a beautiful array
Of stalwart vessels, through far Indic seas
Came seeking every year their spiceries.

monsoon, and on that account it would be well to return to land, not to go on in that way working the ships and expending water. The captain-major said: "I am ashamed to return to land, which is the act of people who do not know how to navigate." The pilot said: "We will not re-

4.

And for this squadron did the Moors await,
That, inasmuch 'twas puissant, and 'twas dire,
These, who had 'minished their commercial state
It might consume with crepitating fire.
Upon such succour was their hope so great,
That from the stranger nought they now desire,
Save that in harbour he such time remain,
Till the famed Meca's ships the coast could gain.

5.

But He who rules the heavens and human race,
Who for whate'er determined hath His will,
Convenient means from distant time and place,
The fated end disposeth to fulfil;
Inspired with accidents of ruth and grace
The Moor Monçaide's heart; who prudent still
Stood ever prompt the Gama to advise,
And by such merit conquer Paradise.

6.

He, whom the Moorish clan suspected not,
Being like them a Moorman, but designed
Participant in every knavish plot
Reveals the villain treacheries of his kind:
And oft the squadron which was moored remote
He visits, and with pity calls to mind
The loss all reasonless and hapless fate,
Doomed by the Saracens' malignant hate.

7.

He warns the wary Gama of th' Armade
From the Arabian Meca yearly sent,
Wherein his tribe their hope of vengeance laid,
That it might be their hatred's instrument:
It comes with soldiers in a host, he said,
And horrid bolts which Vulcan did invent;
And to their power he must fall a prey,
Seeing he stands unfurnished for the fray.

Captain R. Burton.

turn to Cananor, but will fetch the first land, and we will go and stop at an island near the land, which has a good port, in which there is good water and wood, sheltered from all winds, where we shall be very well, until we have the monsoon."[1] When the captains heard this they determined to

[1] Barros represents Gama as touching at the Islands of Anchediva. Camoens does not mention those islands, but brings the Portuguese to an enchanted island which Venus provides for their repose and delight, and where their future triumphs in Asia are foretold to them.

Canto IX, 51.

Cortando vão as naos a larga via
Do mar ingente, para a patria amada,
Desejando proverse de agoa fria,
Para a grande viagem prolongada:
Quando juntas com subita alegria
Houverão vista da Ilha namorada,
Rompendo pello ceo a máy fermosa
De Memnonio suave, e deleitosa.

52.

De longe a Ilha virão fresca, e bella,
Que Venus pellas ondas lha levava
(Bem como o vento leva branca vella)
Para onde a forte armada se enxergava:
Que porque não passassem sem que nella
Tomassem porto, como desejava,
Para onde as naos navegão a movia
A Accidalia, que tudo em fim podia.

53.

Mas firme a fez, e immovel, como vio,
Que era dos nautas vista, e demandada,
Qual ficou Delos, tanto que pario
Latona Febo, e a deosa á caça usada.

51.

As now triumphant to their native shore
Through the wide deep the joyful navy bore,
Earnest the pilot's eyes sought cape or bay,
For long was yet the various watery way;
Sought cape or isle from whence their boats might bring
The healthful bounty of the crystal spring:
When sudden, all in nature's pride array'd,
The Isle of Love its glowing breast display'd.

put into port, and some little wind arising they returned towards the land, and found in a short time more wind, of which there was none, except near the coast. They fetched the land and ran along the coast, with delays, because the wind did not serve for the island, and they met many ships, which were sailing to all parts, and the pilots said that they should go and take them, because they carried much merchandise. The captains said: "We have got the ships laden with what we came to seek; we do not want to take other men's goods, for we are not thieves." They went and put in at Angediva, where they enjoyed themselves much: there were good water springs, and there was in the upper part of the island a tank built with stone with very good water and much wood; there they remained until ten days of November (? December), when they departed on their voyage to Melinde. The ships remained thus at this island, in which there were no inhabitants, only a beggar-man, whom they call joguedes, of whom further on I will give a long account; this man lived in this island under a stone grotto, and he ate of what was given him from the ships which passed by there, which was only rice and dried herbs, because these men do not eat anything else. Our men were much on shore enjoying themselves and looking at the manner of navigation in these parts, and [observed] that the

O'er the green bosom of the dewy lawn
Soft blazing flow'd the silver of the dawn,
The gentle waves the glowing lustre share,
Arabia's balm was sprinkled o'er the air.
Before the fleet, to catch the heroes' view,
The floating isle fair Acidalia drew;
Soon as the floating verdure caught their sight,
She fixt, unmov'd the island of delight.
So when in child-birth of her Jove-sprung load,
The sylvan goddess and the bowyer god,
In friendly pity of Latona's woes,
Amid the waves the Delian isle arose.

Mickle.

ships had not got more than one large mast, and two ropes on the sides and one at the prow like a stay, and two halliards which come down to the stern and help to sustain the mast; and the rudder is very large and of thin planks; and on the outside of these ships they have ropes on either side, with which they haul on the rudder in order to steer the ship: and the ship is undecked, short, and with few ribs, the planking is joined and sewn together with coir thread, and very strongly, for it endures all the strain of sailing; and the planks are fastened in the same manner to the ribs, sewn with the same coir, and they remain as secure as if they were nailed. There are other ships which have the planks nailed with thin nails with broad heads, riveted inside with other heads fitted on, and also broad: and they have planks as high as up to where they put cargo, and from that point upwards they have cloths very thick, more so than bed-sacking; these are pitched with a bitumen which they call *quil*, which is like pitch, which they boil with cocoa-nut oil and fish oil; and above these cloths some cane mats of the length of the ship, woven and very strong, and they are a defence against the sea, and no water gets through them. Inside, instead of decks, they have chambers and compartments made for the merchandise, covered with leaves, the leaves of the palm tree dried and well woven together; they form a sort of shelving roof from which the water runs to the sides of the ship, and the rain-water runs to the side of the ship and goes below to the pump without touching the goods, which are carried very well lodged and stowed in their compartments; and above this covering of palm leaves they place cane mats spread over it, and walk upon them without doing harm to the chambers beneath. Our people had seen all this in the port of Cananor, in which there were some very large ships, and the captains had sent the sailors to see them, so that they might give an account of everything in Portugal; in these ships they have

not got pumps, only some bnckets of thick leather, tanned in such a way that they last very long; they throw out all the water by hand labour: they call these buckets *baldes*.[1] Their yards have two-thirds of their length abaft and one-third before the mast, and the sail is longer abaft than forward by one-third; they have only a single sheet (*escota*), and the tack of the sail at the bow is made fast to the end of a sprit almost as large as the mast, with which they bring the sail very forward, so that they steer very close to the wind, and set the sails very flat. They do not pitch the ships as we do, they only pnt bitumen of quil[2] in the seams, and grease them with fish oil, which sticks like tallow grease; this they do inboard as well as outside, so that the vessels are very watertight, and sail for the seven months that the summer lasts. They have no tops, nor have they more than the one large sail. They carry their water in tanks, which are made after the fashion which I have already mentioned, square and high. Their planks are also sewn with coir and rattans outside, and are very strong inside, and resist the weight of the water; they are pitched inside also, and are very watertight and roomy, so that they carry thirty or forty pipes of water. The ships which are thus sewn with coir have keels, and those fastened with nails have not, but are flat-bottomed. Their anchors are of hard wood, and they fasten stones to the shanks so that they are heavy and go to the bottom; they have also got other anchors of stone and iron which have wooden arms, and which also hold well. They carry their rudders fastened to the ships with ropes passed outside. The crew are lodged above, and no one has quarters below where the

[1] This is a Portuguese, not a Malabar word: *balde* is a bucket, and a shovel; *baldear* is to pour out, to discharge from one ship to another, to bale.

[2] *Kīl*, pitch, Malabar, or Tamil word.

merchandise is stowed. I have given this description of these ships of the coast of India as it seemed natural here. They never put their boats inside the ships, except in the case of the ships which cross over from India to the straits of Mekka. The Portuguese ships remained thus at Angediva, which is a league off from the mainland, and near there was a river which is named Cincatora,[1] from which Indian boats came out to fish; these went a long way off from the ships from fear, on which account our men could not get to speak to them to give them confidence, and to get fish from them, which they wanted very much, for they could catch none where they were, and the Portuguese in their boats could not overtake them because they went very fast with sails and oars. The ships which passed by came to the island to take in wood and water; and as the island contained a bay, within which the Portuguese ships lay, the ships that came from outside did not see them, except when they came upon them suddenly. On those occasions our people saw well the sails of those ships, which have not got small sails, but within the seams of the sail they put thin cords running from top to bottom, which make the sail very strong; and to each of these cords they splice on outside the sail other cords of half a fathom long, one end outside, the other inside the sail, with a fathom between each, and this in very good order as far as half of the sail; and when there is much wind, with these ties they roll up and tie up the sail underneath, so that they make the sail as small as they wish.[2] When they have to stand on a fresh tack, they lower the sail half way down the

[1] Perhaps the fortress of Cintacola, at the mouth of the river Aliga, which separates the kingdom of Decani of the Sabayo from the kingdom of Narsinga, which fortress belonged to the Sabayo. See *East Coasts of Africa and Malabar*, p. 78.

[2] From this elaborate description of reefing a sail, it would appear that this practice was till then unknown in Europe.

mast, and with a rope, which is rigged from the yard to the poop, they haul npon the yard until they bring it even with the mast and pass the rope to the other side, and so bring the yard over to the other side: in going to windward they fasten the sheet to the tack of the sail and haul it forward as much as they wish to go upon a bowline; and this is their art of navigation and way of handling their sails. The ships which came in to the island, surprised at seeing our ships, tried to take the offing, which they were unable to do so qnickly that the Portnguese boats conld not first reach them, in which the Moorish pilot went and spoke to them, and gave them secnrity; upon which they used to anchor, and the captain-major sent at once to bring back the crews who were on shore, and sent to tell the Moors that they might go, and welcome, on shore and no one would do them any harm; and they, having thus gained confidence, went on shore to wash, and fetch water and wood, which each merchant and passenger brings to his qnarters, because the captain of the ship gives wood and water to the mariners, and provisions are given by money payments and each man carries what he buys for the voyage. These Moors seeing that the Portngnese were so peaceable with them in their boats, used to come and see the captains, and bronght them fowls, figs, and cocoa-nuts, for which they gave them many thanks, and caps, and knives, and they complained of not being able to communicate with the Indian boats about their fish, which they wished to buy and pay well for. Then the Moors sent their boats to the Indian boats and spoke to them, and made them lose their fears, and they brought them to onr ships, where they bought their fish, and paid for it with vintins and half vintins of silver, so much to their satisfaction that they gained confidence, and many always came to the ships to sell their fish. As they found good pay they used to bring fowls, figs, rice, and many other articles of food from the main land, and stuffs and other things, so

that they became great friends with our men from the large profits they made; and they used to come from the sea with great haste to see who would get first to sell his fish. Whilst our ships remained in this way at Angediva, the news of it ran through the country and reached Goa,[1] which is twelve

[1] Barros relates that Vasco da Gama had sent a landmark named S. Gabriel through Diogo Dias to the Zamorin, but that it was not likely that it would be left many hours standing, so on leaving Calecut he went to some small islands close to the coast to set up another landmark; and these islands, which are between Bacanor and Baticala, are now named Santa Maria, after the landmark which he set up there. Having done this, and wishing to heel over and clean his ships, at the suggestion of the people of the country he went to some other islands called Angediva or Anchediva, from *anche* five and *diva* islands, since there are five of them, and one is notable on account of a fortress which King Manuel caused to be built there. Whilst Gama was refitting his ships and taking in water, as it was the best along the coast, and all the ships that navigate in these parts used to come here for it, there came to him a corsair named Timoja, who later was a great friend of the Portuguese. He, hearing of the Portuguese ships, came out of a place where he lived, named Onor, near there, and as he was an astute man he attempted to attack the Portuguese by stratagem, and joined together eight rowing vessels covered with branches, so that they appeared like a large raft. When Gama saw this raft approaching from the coast, he inquired of the Indians, who were going about familiarly with the Portuguese, what the thing he saw was. They replied that it was the invention of a corsair who used to attack the ships that passed by there. Vasco da Gama ordered his brother and Nicolas Coelho before Timoja came up to go and discharge their artillery at him, which they did in such manner that the vessels separated and made for the coast; during their flight Nicolas Coelho captured one of them, in which they found some rice and other meagre provisions of the country. After this event, another occurred, for the country was full of the news of the Portuguese abiding in these islands, which was as follows. A Moorish ruler named Sabayo, to whom belonged a city named Goa, which was twelve leagues from the Anchediva Islands, had with him many Arabs, Parsees, Turks, and some Levantine renegades, with whose assistance he had acquired great state; when he heard of the Portuguese ships, he desired to have more information about them, and summoned a Jew, a native of Poland, who served him as Shahbender (captain of the port), and asked him if he knew to what nation they belonged. The Jew replied that he knew that they were Portuguese, who dwelt in the extreme parts of Christen-

leagues thence, the King of the place was a Moor named Sabayo, who was the lord of many countries and people. As this

dom, warlike people, enduring hardships, and that the Sabayo should attempt to get them into his service, as with such men he might make great conquests. As the Sabayo used to endeavour to obtain the services of warlike people, he ordered the Jew to go to them and approach them on his part with a favourable offer; and if they would not accept, he would send three or four armed vessels to back him, and on his sending them word, they should attack the Portuguese; and that he should go at once, and the ships would follow. The Jew started with that understanding, and came in a small boat to the land, and ascended a small hill over above the Portuguese ships, and there began to shout that he wished to speak to the captain, and that they should give him a safe conduct by that sign, showing at the same time a wooden cross. When Vasco da Gama saw the cross he reverenced it in his heart, saying to himself that under that sign of his redemption he did not expect deceit or injury; and turning to the heathen who were with him, he asked them if they knew the man who was shouting. They, as they were pleased at the good which had been done them, said: "Sir, do not trust that man, because he is a soldier of a city named Goa, which is near here; and as he is a Moor, people with whom you are at enmity, perhaps he comes with some deceit." When Vasco da Gama got this information, he ordered an answer to be given, that if he wanted anything and was a safe man, that he gave him a safe conduct. Upon which the Jew replied that he came with much sincerity, and that trusting to him he confided himself into his power. With which words he came down and came to Vasco da Gama, showing much confidence, like one who had nothing else in his breast; but Vasco da Gama discovered it at once by ordering him to be tortured. When the Jew found himself in that state he began to beg them for the love of God not to torture him, and he would tell the whole truth of his coming; and that before coming to that point he would relate the beginning of his birth and life, from which, and from what he now felt with respect to their arrival in these parts, it seemed to him that it was not only for his salvation, but also for that of so many thousand souls, as there were of the heathen in those parts, because it was not in reason that men so western as were the Portuguese people, who lived at the end of the earth should come to the east by so great a distance over seas and unknown tracks, unless for some great mystery, which God intended to work by means of them. Then he began to relate the beginning of his life, saying that in the year of Christ 1450, the King of Poland had ordered a proclamation to be made throughout his kingdom, commanding all the Jews within it to become Christians within thirty days, or to go out of his kingdom,

city was the principal seaport, with a large river which formed an island in which the town was situated, which was a place

and that after this limit of time had elapsed, whoever were found should be burned. This was the cause of the greater part of the Jews going out of the kingdom to divers parts, and in this emigration were his father and his mother, who were dwellers in a city called Bosna; these came to Jerusalem, and from thence passed on to the city of Alexandria, where he was born; and after that he had grown up, after wandering about in many parts, he had come to those of India, into the service of the Sabayo, the ruler of Goa, by whose order he had come here to call upon Vasco da Gama and his men to enter his service and pay, as there were several Levantines there with him; and that the Sabayo had formed this desire because he had vaunted the Portuguese nation; and this was the true cause of his coming, and he begged him not to do him any injury, and to be pleased to receive him as Christian people are accustomed to receive those who come to be baptised, since he wished to accept it, and to die in the Christian faith. When Vasco da Gama saw in this, and in other conversations which he had with him, that he was a man of experience, and that he gave many details about the affairs of those parts, he began to console him, and to tell him not to vex himself about the son and property which he said he had left in Goa, because the King his sovereign, if so be he should by the help of God arrive in Portugal, would at once send a large fleet to these parts, with which he would return, in which voyage the Jew would be able to regain his son, and much more property than what he left in Goa by the favour of the King of Portugal. Finally he was baptised, and named Gaspar, taking as surname Gama, on account of Vasco da Gama, who brought him to that state; and by his advice the next day, before the ships which the Sabayo was to send could arrive, Vasco da Gama, being now ready, set sail, crossing the great gulf between India and Africa. During this passage many of the crew fell sick and died, by reason of the many calms. The first land which he made was below the city of Magadaxo, situated on the open coast; he passed by it without stopping longer than to discharge his artillery at it, for seeing by the show of its edifices that it was an important place, he did not choose to gain more experience of the sincerity of the Moors of that coast. But he could not go away without some encounter with them, for having advanced further on to another city named Paté, there came out seven or eight well armed sambuks with the intention of attacking him, but he made such discharges of artillery against them that they did not choose to follow him further. On arriving at Melinde he was received by the King with much pleasure, who treated the sick men with refreshments from the shore, but several were buried during the five days that he remained there, in

of great trade, it kept at sea a fleet of swift vessels, with which they used to make the ships which passed by come into their port to pay them their dues. This Sabayo, hearing that our ships were at Angediva, and it was also related to him by the ships and sambuks which passed by Angediva, that the Portuguese did no harm to any one, desired to learn about the ships, and he called a Granadine Jew, who was his captain-major at sea, and he spoke to him about our ships. This Jew, at the taking of Granada,[1] was a very young man, and having been driven from his country he passed through many lands until he came to Turkey, and went to Mekkah, from whence he passed on to India and established his abode with this Sabayo, who, finding him to be a valiant man in naval warfare, made him captain-major of his fleet. When the Sabayo talked to him about the ships the Jew offered to go and see them, and, if he could, to communicate with them as they could not do him any harm, for he would go in a swift vessel with sails and oars, and it might be that he should find the ships in such a condition that he might be

such a condition were they. Setting sail again, on reaching the shoals where the ship *San Rafael* had struck (as we have before related), it struck again, and remained there for ever: this did not cause much vexation to Gama, as so many of his crews had died that he could not navigate three ships, and even for two there were few, these men were divided among the two ships (Osorio says Gama burned Paulo's ship at Melinde). They reached the isles of S. Jorge in front of Mozambique on the day of the Purification (February 2nd), and heard a mass there, and another at the watering place of S. Bras, and on the 20th of March (Osorio says 26th of April) doubled the Cape, when the crews began to recover their health.

[1] Osorius calls him a Sarmate by nation and Jew by religion; Barros says a Polish Jew; Castanheda says he announced himself as a Levantine Christian, and that at a distance of two hundred leagues from Anchediva he confessed he was a Moor, and later he was converted, and it was said afterwards that he was a Jew, because it was found that he was married to a Jewess who lived in Cochim. Correa's account is the most probable.

able to bring them to Goa, for he had already been informed about these ships going about at Calecut and on the Malabar coast. So he got ready to start in a small fusta with rowers, and took with him eight large armed fustas with men to fight with the Portuguese ships if that should be suitable. He was an old man, quite white, of large stature, and full beard. He came with his fustas, and arrived by night, in order not to be seen by the ships, and posted the fustas amongst the islets which were at the mouth of the river of Cintacola, which was at the distance of half a league from the ships, where they could very well remain without being seen by the ships. As it was a dark night he got into an Indian boat with rowers, and went silently to the ships and saw them from a distance, and knew that they were ships from Spain, and upon that he returned to the fustas. When it was morning he got into a small fusta well manned with rowers, which went very swiftly with sails and oars, and went to the ships with the determination to go on board of them with some feigned pretext, and see what crews they had, and if he found a convenient opportunity to take them by some stratagem, and if not, then he would see if he could burn them and get any plunder from them, or else he would return to Goa to fetch a fleet with which to capture them. He trusted to his small fusta, which the boats could not overtake even if they came in pursuit of it; and with this idea he went to the ships. When this Jew arrived at the islets with the fustas he had been seen by the fishermen who went out to sea, and they saw that the fustas had concealed themselves amongst the islets, and they knew that they belonged to Goa and went to sea to plunder. The fishermen, as they were very friendly with the Portuguese, who lived in good fellowship with them, and hoping that on that account the Portuguese would make them a present, came to the ships with great haste and gave them notice of all that they perceived, and that the fustas were not in that place except for the purpose of doing some

mischief. The captain-major gave them good pay for this, and they went away much pleased. The captains then got ready their artillery, and took all the measures which were fitting, and watched well all the night, but they did not see the Indian boat in which the Jew came to see the ships. When it dawned the Jew came in his small fusta, and did as though he were passing by to some other part and saw the ships that had pnt in; so when he had come near he took in his sail, and with the oars approached the ships which were both close together. When he was near their sterns within hearing, he hailed the ships in Castilian, saying, "God preserve the ships and the Christian captains, and the crews who sail with them;" and the rowers gave a shout, which was answered from the ships with the trumpets. All the crews were much excited and pleased at hearing the Castilian language; and the Jew, coming up nearer, said, "Gentlemen, captains, give me a safe conduct and I will come on board of yonr ships to learn the news of my country, and from me you also may learn whatever you please, since God has broneght you hither for your good and for miue; for it is now forty years that I have been a captive, and now God has shown me ships from Spain, which is my conntry, therefore may it be your pleasure to give me the safe conduct which I reqnest, for withont it I shonld not dare to come on board." They answered him from the ship that he might safely come on board with peace, and that they would do him all honour, becanse they mnch rejoiced at hearing him speak, and that in the ships there was no one who would do harm to anybody. The Jew, trusting to these words, approached and came on board, and they received and welcomed him, and bade him sit down, and questioned him as to the country he came from, and how it was that he was at such distance from his native land, and many other things which the Jew answered; and the captains showed that they were much pleased to hear him. Of the rowers of the small

fusta several also came on board, and were much surprised at what they saw, and in great security as they saw their captain sitting down thus and conversing with so much satisfaction. The captain-major ordered Nicolas Coelho to be called to come and see the new guest who had come to visit them. Nicolas Coelho came to the ship in his boat with a few men, and as he approached the ship the captain-major ordered him to come alongside on the side where the fusta was, and when they arrived to board the fusta. The captain-major then rose up and at once ordered the Jew to be bound by men who were ready for that purpose; and on seeing that, the sailors of the fusta threw themselves into the sea, and the boat came up and gathered them all in so that none escaped. The Jew, seeing himself bound in that manner, said, "Oh, gentlemen, noble Christians, God protect me and you; for having trusted myself to your words I am now bound hand and foot." The captain-major answered him, "Jew, it was with treachery that you asked for a safe conduct, and on that account it shall not avail you." Then they put heavy irons upon his feet, and sent all the rowers down below decks. Afterwards the captain-major ordered the Jew to be stripped, and two ship-boys to give him many stripes with cords; and he said to the Jew that he well knew of the treachery with which he had come with the fustas which were concealed amongst the islets, and therefore he swore, by the life of the King of Portugal his sovereign, that he would put him to death by flogging and torturing him with drops of hot fat, until he confessed the truth out of his mouth. The Jew, finding himself in such straits, and that he was already questioned about the fustas which were at the islets, said, "Sir, I confess that I am worthy of death, but have pity on me and on this white beard, and I will tell you the whole truth." Then the captain-major ordered him to be unbound and dressed, and he related all that I have mentioned above. Then the captain-major took great oaths

that if he did not deliver np to him the fustas which were in the islets, he would have him flayed alive. The Jew replied, "Sir, command me, and if I do not do it I am in your power." Then the boats were sent well manned, with their swivel guns and many pots of powder all prepared; there were twenty men in each boat with the best arms that could be provided; and the captain-major went in the small fusta, taking the Jew with him in irons and his hands tied behind him, and the pilots and masters went in the boats. They went at night, when it was qnite dark, for the moon set before the morning; and Vasco da Gama told the Jew to speak to his men on arriving at the fustas in such manner that they should not be alarmed, nor get ready to fight, because the first thing after that would be his being killed. The Jew said, "Sir, I will endeavonr to save myself from death." They went and reached the fustas before morning, and all were asleep taking their rest. The light fusta went a little in front, and the boats a little astern and at a distance from it, which being heard by the people of the fustas who kept watch, they asked who was coming. To which the Jew replied in their own language, "It is I, and I am bringing with me some relations." Upon which he entered amongst the fustas, and the ships' boats, carrying their matches concealed, came to the outer side of the fustas; when the captain-major reached them he gave a shont which they heard, crying out, Santiago, Sam Jorgé; at which the boats gave a shout and fired their guns, and the Portuguese boarded the fustas with their powder-jars lit, which they threw amongst the rowers, who were all asleep; so that the whole of them sprung into the sea. As the fighting men were few in number, and flustered with being so suddenly roused from sleep, there was no one who fought or defended himself, since it seemed that the fustas were entirely on fire with the flames from the powder-pots. As all the fustas were together our men over-ran them all, until not one black

man remained in them, and all were swimming about in the sea and taking refuge in the islets; during which time it dawned. But the captain-major, with the light fusta and the ships' boats was going about the sea killing them all, and they went to kill as many as were in the islets, for they spared the life of nobody. They then took the fustas in tow made fast to the boats and light fusta, and so returned to the ships with great delight, and the ships hailed them in return with shouts and trumpeting. They found rice and cocoa-nuts in the fustas, and some dried fish which formed their provisions; the fustas contained some small guns and cannon (*roqueiras*), which the Portuguese threw into the sea, and the weapons were javelins (*zagunchos*) and long swords and large bucklers made of boards covered with hides sewn with sinews, and very light and long bows, like English bows, with cane arrows with long broad iron points. The Portuguese took from the fustas whatever they wanted, and broke up some of them for wood. The Indian fishing-boats came np, and the Portuguese captains told them to take the fustas away with them, but they would not do it, but each one carried away what he pleased, and they divided the sails into pieces and took them for their fishing-boats. Then the Portuguese selected from amongst the captive rowers some of the best men for the service of the pumps, twelve for each ship, and they killed the others in the presence of the fishermen, because they knew of the treachery with which they had come. The Jew was much alarmed, and expected that when the others had all been made an end of, he would be the last to receive more severe punishment, but the captain-major ordered him to be put below the deck. As he had already taken in water, and it was the season of the monsoon,[1] and the pilots said that they ought to depart,

[1] Camoens, Canto x, 143.
Podeisvos embarcar, que tendes vento,
E mar tranquilo para a patria amada:
Assi lhe disse, e logo movimento

they set sail, crossing over the great gulf and making their course for Melinde; which they did with good weather and without misfortune, and arrived at Melinde on the eighth of January of the year 1499.[1]

CHAPTER XX.

How the ships arrived at Melinde, and what they did there until they departed for the kingdom.

WHEN the ships arrived at the port of Melinde, they anchored, and dressed themselves out with flags, and the

[1] Correa said above (p. 239) that they sailed from Angediva on the 10th December; Goes and Castanheda fix the departure from Angediva on Friday, 5th of October, the sighting of Magadoxo and bombardment of it on the 2nd February, and the arrival at Melinde on Monday the 7th of February. Castanheda gives a few additional details of the return voyage from Angediva to Melinde, which he says lasted four months, what with calms and other causes: the crew were again sick, with their gums swollen and rotten as at the river Bons sinaes, and they had ulcers in their arms and legs, and thirty persons died, and others could hardly move; they were also short of water, which had to be served out by measure. The pilots wanted to put back to Calicut, and made a conspiracy, which Vasco da Gama discovered, upon which he arrested them, and took the care of directing the ships' course.

Fazem da Ilha alegre, e namorada:
Levão refresco, e nobre mantimento,
Levão a companhia desejada
Das Ninfas, que hão de ter eternamente
Por mais tempo, que o Sol o mundo aquente.

143.

Ye may embarque (for wind and weather fit,
And the sea courts yon) for your countrey dear.
Thus said shee to them; and they forthwith quit
The Isle of Love, the harbour of good chear:
Noble provisions they take out of it;
Take their desir'd desirous Nymphs to bear
Them company: whom nothing shall divorce,
Whilst in the heav'ns the sun shall run his course.

Fanshaw.

trumpets sounded, and the crews shouted. The pilot, who had already got leave from the captain-major, hailed the skiff of a ship which was near to them, and it was sent, and he went on shore to take the good news to the King of the good fortune which our men had met with; at which the King was much pleased, and went immediately to seat himself on the beach, waiting until the boats were lowered into the sea. The captains got into them at once and went to the shore, and as soon as the boats grounded they jumped out, because the King was standing by with the water reaching to his feet. He embraced the captains with both arms, as though they had been his brothers; and so he led them away to the palace, where he again embraced them, and sat down between them both, the captains making great salutations. The King then began to inquire of them if they came with good health, and if their affairs had been to their satisfaction. Paulo da Gama said to him: "Sire, you, with your royal sincerity and kind affection, put us in a good road, on which account we have found all that we were seeking for: and if the Lord be pleased to bring us to Portugal, we may say that we are very fortunate: and since you, Sire, procured for us this so great good, we and those who descend from us will for ever be under greater obligation to you than any men ever owed to a ruler." For which reason they offered to him themselves and their ships and all they contained, for all was his, since all had been acquired through him, not only that which they possessed at the present time, but all that there might be in future, for all was his, as he was so good and true a king, and they promised to serve him like their own king and sovereign. The King thanked them very much with very affectionate words, and they related to him all that had happened to them; during this time the pilots came to kiss the King's feet, and he gave them a warm welcome, and they related to him what they had seen the Portuguese do.

When they related what they had done with the fustas at Angediva, all were much amazed, and the King said that he would be much pleased to see the Jew, and they at once sent to fetch him. When he came before the King, the captain-major bade him give an account of all his ill success to the King, which he related, and they were all much surprised. The King asked the captain-major how he had become acquainted with the treachery of the Jew. He said: "Sire, no one told me of it, but only my heart, for on hearing him speak, I felt such irritation that it seemed that my heart was struggling to leap out of my body." The King then said: "Now at length I know indeed that you are such perfect men, that I should be very fortunate if I possessed such men in my kingdom to attend to my service and honour; on which account I say, and swear by my religion, that from this day forward for ever, I am a true friend, like a brother of the King of Portugal, your sovereign; and since I tell you this truly and of my own accord, I entreat you much to promise me that you will engage the King to order all his ships to come to this city of mine, where I will do them all the good that is in my power, so that I shall be a great king having such people for my friends; and I shall live much at my ease with my kingdom in security, whilst possessing the friendship of so great a king: and I already know much more than what you have told me." Paulo da Gama answered: "Sire, God shows good things to the good, and you have shown them to us, for if you had not directed us we should not have found that which, had we not discovered, never could we have returned to our country, and we should have gone on running over seas and countries until all of us should have ended our lives: and since you have conferred such benefits upon us, we will always pray to God that He may increase your royal state over your enemies. By this great benefit that you have done us, when we were going about as lost, so that the King our sovereign

would never again have seen us, you, Sire, have delivered us and saved us from perdition, and have given us the remedy, so that now we shall go before the King our sovereign with the great advantages which we are conveying to him, so that he will experience such pleasure and satisfaction, that for ever he and his sons, and all who descend from them, will truly be your brothers in sincere affection, the friends of your friends, and the enemies of your enemies: and when any other ships come here, which without doubt he will send, you will see in his letters all the truth of what we now tell you here, for the King our sovereign will send many ships and men to seek for India, which will be all of it his, and he will confer great benefits on his friends, and you will be the one most esteemed, above them all, like a brother of his own; and when you see his power, then your heart will feel entire satisfaction. One favour we ask you to do us, which is that these pilots which you gave us, or others if it so seem better to you, should be given to us to go with us to Portugal, because they know the navigation of this country, which our men do not know; for after we shall have passed the extremity of this land, after that we shall know how to go to our country, which is very near to this one, if we knew how to navigate in the fair season of this coast; because, when we came thus with many storms, as we did not see the land, we did not take down the marks of the coast in order to know how to return to our country. Also, if your pilots go with us, they will become acquainted with our navigation, and they will see our country and king, and when they return they will relate to you truly what they have seen." The King was much pleased with this, and said: "It appears that you divine everything which I desire in my heart, for this was the thing which I was most desirous of, and I was now on the point of speaking of it to you, because I had already settled it with the best pilots whom I have found, and of whom you

will take good care, since they are willing to do me this service, so much for my satisfaction, and they leave with me their wives and children lamenting themselves; and I tell them that I send them assured against injury upon my own head." The captains replied: "Sire, we will keep and maintain your word till death." The captain-major then immediately sent to fetch two hundred cruzados in gold, which he gave to the King to leave with the pilots' wives; so that the King and all his people remained well satisfied. The King then ordered the pilots to embark, and with his own hand he delivered them over to the captains, and told them at once to get on board the ships all that they had need of; and he ordered water to be taken to them in the boats of the ships which were in the harbour, and in everything much was done for their equipment. The captains always remained with the King all day until night, when they always went to sleep in their ships. When they were quite ready and wished to embark, the King was with his ministers and principal gentlemen, and in the presence of them all, the King with his own hand gave to Paulo da Gama a letter written on a leaf of gold, like that of the King of Cananor. This letter was very long: in it the King mentioned all that had passed between him and the Portuguese, in offers of service and obligations, and he affirmed it all with oaths; and made many requests to the King of Portugal that he would send his fleets and men to his port, which would be very suitable to his honour; and he sent him as a present a broad gold neck-chain with precious stones and pearls, which in Portugal was worth ten thousand cruzados, also a chest much wrought with ornaments of silver and ivory, full of white stuffs and silks, and gold thread, such as our people had never seen the like of. The King said these things were for the Queen, and with these were twenty jewelled rings of the same value as the necklace. He also gave to the captains jewels of gold, and

various kinds of stuffs, all of much value; he likewise sent presents to Nicolas Coelho, who was on board the ship. The king requested the captains to give him, in writing, and signed by them, a statement of all that had passed between them up to that time, which they did; and with many embraces and very affectionate speeches the captains took leave and embarked. The King sent his minister immediately after them with two boats laden with packages of fine white stuffs and coloured stuffs of many sorts and patterns, and many fine muslins; and he sent word to the captains that he sent that for their masters and pilots and crews, and that they were to distribute it among them to each man, as they thought fit, so that they might not be discontented with his country. He also sent for the Queen a piece of ambergris, set in silver, of the length of half an ell, and of the thickness of a man's waist; when the captains saw it they ordered the crews to shout, for the King to hear them on shore, and the trumpets to be sounded. The captains, however, desiring that the King of Portugal should excel all others in greatness, ordered to put into the boats ten chests of different sorts of uncut coral, and much amber, vermilion, and quicksilver, many pieces of brocade, velvet, satin, and coloured damasks, and a piece of scarlet cloth, and coloured cloths of Rouen. Also a chest full of mirrors, knives, red barret-caps, and other kinds, and many strings of crystalline beads of many colours which looked pretty, and many gilt glasses, and two hundred bars of copper; for they considered that it was not worth while to take these things back to Portugal where they were worth little, and they had brought it all to trade with and had not expended it. Vasco da Gama at the same time sent to the King a dagger of his own, very richly enamelled, with a message to the effect that that object had been his, and that he begged him much to wear it always for his sake, in its belt which had splendid fringes, as was the custom at that time. He

also gave other things to the minister, so that he went away much pleased to the King, who was seated on the beach, where the minister presented all these things to him. On seeing them the King said: "I am a poor man to be able to pay for all this." Then he at once sent to the merchants of the city and they collected a hundred pieces of Mekkah velvet, of many colours, and pieces of satin, and fine damask stuffs from Mekkah, and the King sent these to the ship with a message to the captains, that these stuffs were poor materials for their own clothing, but that they should be given to the seamen and crews to dress in when they reached Portugal. For this they sent great thanks to the King, and as the message left the ships there came from shore many boats laden with refreshments, and many things for the voyage, and a large jar of ginger, preserved with sugar, for the captain-major, and another for Paulo da Gama, which they were to eat at sea when they were cold. With this came the pilots with their baggage, which the Portuguese pilots stowed away in their quarters with them in the cabins of the forecastle. The pilots then gave orders for their speedy departure; and on the next day, the day of St. Sebastian, they set sail with foresails and mizens, and again cast anchor half a league outside the port. This next day the priests said a dry mass in both ships with many prayers, all beseeching the Lord devoutly, with many tears, to be pleased of His great mercy to bring them to Portugal. When this was concluded they loosed the sails, standing out from the land as much as the pilots directed; this was on the day of St. Sebastian, the twentieth of January of 1499.[1]

[1] Barros, Goes, and Castanheda say that Gama stayed five days at Melinde. Goes says he left on the 12th February, and Castanheda says the 10th February.

CHAPTER XXI.

How our men departed from Melinde and arrived in Portugal; and of what happened to them by the way.

When the ships had set sail, as has been related, they continued to run down the coast, and the captains gave orders to the pilots to keep a good look out, and to note well the coast and landmarks which it presented, and to question the Moorish pilots as to all they saw, and to write it down with full details; especially the outlines and marks presented by the land when it remained astern, because that was the view and description by which it would be known by those who would come from the kingdom, running along the coast; and also to write down the names of the towns and rivers and everything. This the pilots did with much care; and it was also done by a priest of the ship, named Joan Figueira, who of his own accord wrote down all that happened in this voyage; and on arriving at Melinde he was at the point of death. Then, thinking that he was going to die, he gave to the captain a note-book in which he had written down everything, at which the captain was much pleased; and on leaving Melinde he charged him to go on writing in the same manner until the voyage was ended, which he did. Many copies were afterwards made of what this priest wrote; and I saw some fragments of one of them, in the possession of Alfonso de Albuquerque, amongst some old papers of his (for I, Gaspar Correa, served him for three years as his clerk), and seeing in them things so pleasing to hear and to know, I gathered together this manuscript book, which was already become pieces and was torn in parts: and on account of it, I formed the resolution of writing all that I might be able to acquire and hear of the deeds and events of India, with

respect to which I have already made my excuses, which I earnestly entreat my readers to accept from me, and that they will take into account my ignorance through which I have fallen into error. To continue, the Portuguese navigated thus with a fair wind, and at their ease, relying on the good pilots they had; for they were so experienced that they used to say, to-morrow we shall see such a land, or river, or islands, and they were always correct without making any mistakes. On reaching Mozambique[1] they would not go thither, they had not any necessity to do so, and went on their course. When they were in the neighbourhood of Sofala the pilots told the masters that they ought to be well prepared and ready to lower the sails, and that at night they should shorten sail, and keep a good look-out, because where they were going there was a river belonging to a country named Sofala, from which at times there issued a very violent squall of wind, which swept away the trees and cattle and brought them down to the sea; but that this was not certain, for some years it did not occur: and, since it was thus doubtful and very sudden, no one passed by there without great precautions as to the sails, for ships even without sails still ran some risk, but these squalls lasted but a short time, and passed over like thunderstorms that they were: although the ships should be rigged with little sail they would run very fast, on account of the great current of the sea which would carry them towards the Cape of Good Hope. The pilots directed the ships to be brought very close to the land as a precaution against the wind, in

[1] Goes says that when opposite the town of Tagata Gama burned Paulo da Gama's ship, which was very old; Castanheda says he did this on the 17th of February at the banks of St. Rafael, named after it. Goes says that Gama arrived off Zanzibar on the 28th of February, and that the ruler of it sent him refreshment; he sailed on the 1st of March, and then anchored off St. Jorge Island, without communicating with the Sheikh of Mozambique: on the 3rd of March (Castanheda) he touched at San Blas, and doubled the Cape on the 20th March.

case it blew; and the Lord was pleased that it did not arise. Since the Portuguese had met there with sea-winds which were very stormy, and as they found many islands and shallows, the captains spoke to the pilots about standing further off from the land, lest any wind from the sea might do them harm, and that they could not keep the course which they were then making. The pilots replied that it was at that time the summer of this region, and that there was no other wind except that which they then had, which was a stern breeze; and that if this wind fell calm there would arise a head wind from the opposite direction, and that there would be no wind from seaward, and they were to be under no apprehension of it; and if there should come a contrary wind they would not need to put into port, nor fetch the land, they would only have to lie-to until a fair wind sprung up again, for even while they were lying-to the currents would carry them forwards. By reason of these currents, whenever the wind was contrary, the sea would rise very high, but there would not be rain nor storms. The Lord, however, was pleased in His mercy that they should pass the Cape of Good Hope, in sight of it, without any accident, and immediately afterwards they saw the turn which the other coast takes towards Portugal. They took down many bearings and marks of this coast, and soundings, which they took lying-to. They found in the sea some yellow weeds like *espadana*,[1] and many seals,[2] which at sight of the ships dived underneath the water. They ran under full sail, and seeing the Cape remain behind, and that they had passed by it towards Portugal, the pleasure of all was so great that they embraced each other with great joy; they then all knelt down, with their hands raised up to heaven, uttering great praise and

[1] *Espadana*, a plant called *Gladiolus*, *Xiphium*, *Xiphion Spatha*, *Victorialis fœmina*, and *Gladiolus sylvestris*, Bluteau.

[2] *Lobos marinhos.*

prayers for the great benefits which had been granted them. Vasco da Gama then said to the master and pilot and the seamen whom he had arrested: "What do you men now say of the great shame with which you covered yourselves, when, from fear of the storm, you wished to seize upon me and lose this great pleasure which we all possess, and this great service which we have rendered to God, and to the King our sovereign, who will grant us so many favours for our great hardships." To this only one mariner answered, who was named Joam Dameiroeira;[1] he said: "Sir, we acted according to what we are; you acted like as you are. Now, Sir, on a day of so much joy, it is in reason that we should be pardoned." Vasco da Gama replied: "I forgive you, for in my heart there is no ill will towards you, but on account of the vow which I made, I will take the master and pilot in irons to present them before the King, who will grant you many favours for this, which I will beg of him for you and for your children, and this I promise you; and you shall go from the palace to your houses bound in chains, which there you will take off, only this will be for a remembrance and recollection of this so perilous voyage which you have made, the honour of which will endure as long as you live." Then he ordered them to bring on the quarter-deck all the things that the King of Melinde had sent, and he sent an equal portion to the ship of Paulo da Gama, and he distributed it all amongst the whole ship's company with great order, giving to each according as it seemed just, so that all were contented. He gave to the Moorish pilots dresses of scarlet cloth such as they desired, and jubbehs of yellow satin, and Paulo da Gama did the same with his people. The pilots and masters then held a consultation as to the course they should make, and they spoke of it to the Moorish pilots, and told them that the coast on this side towards Portugal made so great a bay

[1] The Lisbon edition has João d'Ameixoeira.

that they could not run along it, therefore they must now stand out to sea for Portugal, for they had a very good notion and understanding of the course which they onght to make, all which they explained to the Moorish pilots, who already understood some little of onr speech. These asked if Portugal stood ont as far into the sea as the Cape of Good Hope; they told them that it did so, and even still more; the pilots answered that it would be well to take this conrse: and the ships sailed within speaking distance of one another, telling each other of all that they were doing. When it was night the Moorish pilots took observations with the stars, so that they made a straight course. When they were on the line they met with showers and calms, so that our men knew that they were in the region of Guinea. Here also they encountered contrary winds, which come from the Strait of Gibraltar, so that they took a tack out to sea on a bowline, going as close to the wind as possible. They sailed thus with mnch labonr at the pnmps, for the ships made much water with the straining of going on a bowline, and in this part of the sea they found some troublesome weed, of which there was much that covered the sea, which had a leaf like sargarço, which name they gave to it, and so named it for ever.[1] Our pilots got sight of the north star at the altitude which they used to see it in Portugal, by which they knew that they were near Portugal. They then ran dne north until they sighted the islands,[2] at

[1] *Sargaço.* Bluteau gives a description of this weed, which he says rises a span above the surface of the sea: he quotes from John Hugh Linschoten, *Hist. Orient.*, 3rd part, p. 34—"Lusitani herbam Sargaço nominant, quod Nasturtio Aquatico, quod ipsi Sargaço indigitant, non admodum dissimilis sit," etc. Bluteau says this weed is a remedy for the stone and diseases of the bladder, when eaten raw or boiled.

[2] Goes says they arrived at Santiago on the 25th April: he and Castanheda say that Nicolas Coelho parted company here from Gama (Goes says in a storm, Castanheda says one night), and went on to give news to D. Manuel of the discovery, and reached Cascaes on the 10th of July, 1499.

which their joy was unbounded, and they reached them, and ran along them to Terceira, at which they anchored in the port of Angra at the end of August. There the ships could hardly keep afloat by means of the pumps, and they were so old that it was a wonder how they kept above water, and many of the crews were dead, and others sick, who died on reaching land; there also Paulo da Gama died, for he came ailing ever since he passed the Cape, and off Guinea he took to his bed, and never again rose from it. When that happened Vasco da Gama passed over to his brother's ship, and always voyaged with him: all the crews in general had grown sick. Paulo da Gama lived only one day on shore, and was buried in the monastery of St. Francis, with great honours, and was accompanied by the captain and all the honourable people of the island. Vasco da Gama bewailed the death of his good brother with very great regret and affliction, for he loved him much. When the ships had arrived thus at the islands, the almoxarife (officer of the King's duties) and the King's officials used much diligence in refitting the ships with everything that they required, and they put mariners on board of them to navigate them, because Vasco da Gama would not consent to their discharging any of the cargo from them, as they wished to do, for when they first arrived they had wished to tranship the merchandise into other vessels, to make it safe, but the captain-major did not consent to it. As soon as the ships arrived at the island, many ships started for Lisbon to go and take the news to the King, as they hoped to obtain by that great favours as the reward of the good news. Afterwards, when the ships were provided with all that was necessary, they departed for Lisbon, and Vasco da Gama was so afflicted by the death of his brother, that it very much diminished his satisfaction with the great honours that he hoped for on coming to the King's presence: withal he gave great praise to the Lord, since this had been

for His holy service. Many vessels went from the island in company with the ships, and all arrived together at Lisbon, which was on the eighteenth day of September of the year 1499.[1]

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the reception and honours and favours which the King granted to Vasco da Gama, and to those who had gone with him on this voyage.

The King was staying at Sintra when there arrived one Arthur Rodriguez, a man married in the isle of Terceira; he had a carvel of his own, ready to make a voyage to Algarve. He, seeing the ships come in, set sail without knowing whence they were coming, and so he passed by them under sail before they came to anchor, and asked whence they came, and they answered that they came from India. He at once made his course for Lisbon, where he arrived in four days, and entered Cascaes,[2] and got into a small boat which was going ashore, and he gave orders to a son of his who came with him not to let anyone approach to communicate with his vessel, nor to say anything of the ships from India. This Arthur Rōïz on reaching land went at once with speed to Sintra, because the men of the skiff had told him that the King was there, and he set out and arrived there at one o'clock at night, and went to the King, who had just sat down at table to sup. Arthur Rōïz took the King's hand and kissed it, saying: "Sire, I have

[1] There is a great variety in the dates given by different historians of the return of Gama to Lisbon. Castanheda says September; Maffei, September; Goes, August 29; Quintella, *Annaes da Marinha Portuguesa*, August 29; Barros, August 29; Mariz, *Dialogo de varia historia*, August 29; *Anno Historico*, July 29.

[2] Cascaes, a village and fort at the mouth of the Tagus, five leagues from Lisbon.

kissed the hand of your Highness for the great favour which you will grant me for the so great and good news which I bring you.[1] It is four days since I set out from Terceira, where I left two ships from India, for as I was coming nnder sail in a carvel of mine I passed by them, and inquired, and they told me that they came from India: and as it was such good news, I did not choose that another should come first and be before me in gaining the reward which I hope your Highness will give me." The King was not able to continue hearing him, but went off at once to the chapel which is within the palace, where he recited his orisons and gave great praises to the Lord for the so great favour that had been vouchsafed to him. Upon this there was great excitement, and all the nobles flocked to the palace to give the King joy of his great satisfaction. The King took Arthur Rōiz as a gentleman of his household, and his son as a page of the chamber, and gave him a gratification of a hundred cruzados, which the King's purser gave to him at once. The King then said to the nobles that he would start before morning for Lisbon to receive further messages, which would come following after this one, and in case the ships came, the better to see them enter Lisbon. The King arrived there the next day at dinner-time, and another message reached him, which came to win the reward of good news, and which told the King all the news of how Vasco da Gama had arrived with his crews dead and sick, and that Paulo da Gama had thus

[1] The account of Barros of the announcement of the discovery of the passage to India is very different:

In the Register of Moradias, or Court allowances (Torre do Tombo, Maç. 1, L°. 7), there is a document which seems confirmatory of Correa's statement about Arthur Rodriguez: it bears no date, but others near it are dated 1525, and the last leaf of the book is dated 1529.

It. Arthur Roiz irmão bastardo de V^co de froes avera todo este seg^do quartell a setecemtos e cynquoenta . . . . p^r mes de caval^ro sem cevada—II ii^c 4rs.

arrived, and that he had died shortly after his arrival; at which the King showed grief, and said: "I should greatly rejoice if Vasco da Gama had come before me with his satisfaction complete, so as not to deprive me of any portion of mine which I now enjoy." The King gave a reward to the messenger for what he related, which was that as soon as they were prepared with what they required, the ships would set out, because they came with great labour at the pumps, from which the seamen never desisted, for the ships had opened their seams with the calms which they met with off Guinea, and with the hard work at the pumps the crews had fallen sick and died, but that many people of the island were coming in the ships, and many vessels were coming with them which would arrive with them at Lisbon. With this great pleasure the King waited until the ships arrived at the bar, where there were boats with pilots who were waiting for them, and who at once brought them in dressed out with flags, while the King was looking on from the House of the Mines, which afterwards became the India House. The ships on coming to anchor fired a salute with their artillery, and the King sent immediately Jorge de Vasconcelos, overseer of the armoury of Lisbon, a chief nobleman of his household, to visit Vasco da Gama, and to say to him that the King hoped his coming would be as happy as the pleasure which he himself felt on account of it; but that the King's pleasure was much diminished by the great grief which he experienced for the death of his brother; but seeing the great favour which the Lord had granted to him, and looking well at one circumstance and the other, he ought to lay aside his grief, at which the King would be much pleased, and that he should disembark shortly. After this, many friends and relations came to the ship to visit Vasco da Gama, and they entreated him much not to go before the King with such grief and mourning as he showed, and to have regard for the message

which the King had sent. He consulted as to this with all his friends, and he dressed himself in a close-fitting tunic of silk (*solia*), and a round barret-cap, which looked well, and he wore his beard very long, for he had never cut it since he had departed from Lisbon. Vasco da Gama landed on the beach in front of the honses, where he was received by all the nobles of the court, and by the Connt of Borba and the Bishop Calçadilha, and he went between those two before the King, who, when he arrived, rose up from his chair and did him great honour; and Vasco da Gama on his knees took hold of his legs and kissed his hand, saying: "Sire, all my hardships have come to au cnd at this moment, and I am altogether satisfied, since the Lord has brought me to the presence of yonr Highness at the end of all, very well as I desired." The King said to him: "May your coming be very fortunate; and I have snch satisfaction at it, that no one feels more pleased than I: and since God has given yon life nntil this, as you besought of Him, He will give it yon for you to receive from me the recompenses merited by the great service which you have now rendered me." At this Vasco da Gama kissed the King's hand. The King then said to him: "For my sake console yourself for the death of your brother, since it has pleased the Lord that all shonld remain for you, as all my hope and trust with regard to this service which I committed to yon, I had reposed it in yon, for which I give great praise to the Lord who has been pleased to grant me this great favour: and although your brother has died, his affairs shall not suffer by losing the recompenses which I would have made him had he been alive; and it shall be the same for all those who died as for those who have remained alive." Then the King mounted his horse, and went to the palace above the alcasoba, where his apartments then were, and took Vasco da Gama with him, who, on entering where the Queen was, kissed her hand, and she did him great honour. The King

then dismissed him to go and rest himself, and bade him come next day to recount to him his labours and hardships, and give his orders as to what was to be done in the ships: upon which Vasco da Gama took his leave and went to his house, accompanied by many people. The King sent orders to the officers of the House of the Mines not to do anything, nor move anything in the ships except what Vasco da Gama ordered, and they were to go and ask him, and do whatever he commanded; and they did this and went to give him the message which the King had sent. Then Vasco da Gama ordered that a good guard should be set in the ships, and that the crews should be sent to their homes, and should take with them all their clothes and property, with the exception of the master and pilot, whom he had to present in irons to the King, as he brought them as prisoners, and that they (the messengers) should go and tell the King of this, and of the cause of it. So they went at once to tell the King this and the cause of it, and when he heard it, he sent word to Vasco da Gama that, since he had arrested them, he might order them to be executed or set at liberty, and he might do with them whatever was his will, as he gave him full and entire jurisdiction over them and as many as came with him. Vasco da Gama then sent to summon the prisoners to his house, and said to them: "I have fulfilled my word in delivering you up in irons to the King, and I have sent to tell him of your offences, and he has left the punishment of them to me; this I pardon you freely, on account of your hardships; now I will comply with my word as to the recompense which I promised you for your services: go in peace and rest yourselves with your wives and children, with whom you will now live with more ease and pleasure than you would have had if you had returned, flying from fear of the storms, and bringing your captain a prisoner as you had determined to do." To this they had nothing to answer, but only fell upon their knees

with their hands raised to heaven, and said: "Sir, may you have your reward from God." Vasco da Gama sent them to their houses, and ordered that they should take out of the ship all their property. Then he ordered them to disembark and bring to his house the Moorish pilots, and the captives, and the Jew, and all were now wearing the clothes which Vasco da Gama had ordered to be made for them on leaving Terceira. Next day in the morning Vasco da Gama went to the palace, and found the King in the wardrobe, where he was standing dressing himself. On his entrance the King made him very welcome with smiles and pleasant words, and called to him, saying, "Dom Vasco da Gama, you have rested but little." Dom Vasco, with one knee on the ground, kissed his hand for the favour of the title of Dom which he had given him. The King told him that he gave it to him for the whole of his lineage, and continued talking to him of the pleasure he felt, and then went to mass, where Dom Vasco stood within the curtain speaking to the King, and for a long space of time after mass, during which he gave the King many details of his affairs. After that they went to the house of the Queen, whither Dom Vasco sent to summon Nicolas Coelho to come from the ship, who brought a chest in which came all the jewels and stuffs for the King. When he had come in, Dom Vasco presented him to the King, and said: "Sire, Nicolas Coelho has not been of little account in the hardships and services, and your Highness will show him favours according to his merits." To this the King replied: "Dom Vasco, it shall all be as you desire." Then he kissed the King's hand, which Nicolas Coelho did also, and then opened the chest, and presented on the Queen's dais the necklaces and jewels and stuffs of the Kings of Cananor and of Melinde, and the letters on the leaves of gold, and the piece of ambergris, which was what the Queen valued the most; also the musk and porcelain which had been bought in Calecut; and when

all had been gathered together, Vasco da Gama remained there relating all the principal events which had happened during his voyage, whilst all the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were present, for the King wished that they should learn how great a service Dom Vasco had rendered to him. They all offered great congratulations upon it to the King, on account of the great pleasure which they saw that he took in it, and all desired [to have performed] the services of Dom Vasco, and [to possess] the dignities which he held by a grant,[1] and they greatly extolled the deserts of Dom Vasco. Whilst Dom Vasco da Gama was relating to the King the kindness of the King of Melinde, he told him that he had in his house two pilots whom that King had given to him, expressing a great desire that they should see with their own eyes the things of Portugal, to relate them to him on their return. The King rejoiced much at this, and told Dom Vasco to employ a man to go about with them and show them all the things which it seemed to him desirable for them to see; and this was done, and all the good things of Portugal were shown to them, especially the King and Queen, with her ladies, on feast days, and at the royal dance, and the King's banquet, and the sports with bulls and canes (jerid), and the churches and splendid palaces, and the monastery of Batalha: all which the pilots wrote down and took notes of. Dom Vasco also gave an account to the King of the Jew whom he brought and of the other captives whom he had taken in Angediva. The King told him that they were all his, to do what he pleased with. All of them became Christians, for Dom Vasco took care of them all and treated them well, especially the Jew, who received the name of Gaspar da Gama, because he took him as his godson at baptism: the King spoke to this Jew

[1] The Lisbon edition supplies the word *mais*, and reads "all were more desirous of the services of Dom Vasco, than of the dignities which they held by grant."

frequently, and took pleasure in listening to what he related, on which account the King did him many favours, and gave him many dresses from his own wardrobe, and horses from his stables, and servants from among those who became Christians whom Dom Vasco gave to him; and all the people used to call him Gaspar of the Indies, for so he wished them to name him. After that the King ordered Dom Vasco to dispose and give orders for the payment of the crews of the ships as he thought fit, since he knew their deserts better than any one else, and the ships had now discharged their cargo. So he ordered that the officials should give to each man all that they had brought freely, and that to each man should be given ten pounds of each spice for their wives to divide with their gossips and friends, so that all might be pleased. When the cargo was taken out, all the pepper and drugs were weighed; the King ordered his officials to draw up an account of all the expense of the three ships and the merchandise and things which they had taken out, and of the recompenses and pay of the captains and crews, because all had remained written down up to their departure from Belem: and all this having been reckoned up, and also the value of the return goods, it was found that for each one there was a profit of sixty. Then the King granted to Dom Vasco a perpetual right of two hundred cruzados which he might lay out each year, of his own money, on cinnamon in Cananor, as that was the first country on the coast of India with which he had established relations. These purchases he might stow on board any ship whatever without paying freight or duties, and he might bring them free of charge to his house to be weighed, that they might not be in excess; and even though there should not be more than one ship only, he might stow them in it: and if during one year he put nothing on board, if it were not by his own default, he was to be at liberty during the following year or years to put all this cargo on board

without missing that of any year. This the King granted to him, as long as India lasted, for an inheritance of his principal heir. In addition to this, he gave him a gratification of twenty thousand cruzados in gold, which the officials carried to his house, and he granted to him ten quintals of pepper and of each drug to distribute amongst his friends, and he was allowed to carry all his goods to his house without paying any duty. The King commanded a proclamation to be made for all the survivors and heirs of the deceased sailors to come and receive all that was due to them [reckoning] up the time when the ships entered Lisbon. To each of the masters and pilots half a quintal of each drug was given, with the exception of cinnamon and mace, because the ships had brought little of it. The King prohibited their selling any of it; they were only to use it and divide amongst their friends. To the heirs of the deceased no drugs were given, only there was given to them the right to the half of their value. All this was done according to the arrangements made by Dom Vasco. The King gave a grant to Nicolas Coelho of three thousand cruzados per month for all the time that the voyage had lasted, and one quintal of all the drugs, and his goods free; and the captaincy of a ship for India in all the fleets in which he might choose to go, which he might give away or sell. To the heirs of Paulo da Gama the King gave the half[1] of all that he had given to Dom Vasco, excepting the taking in cargo of ginger. On the whole, great favours and recompenses were given to one and all; because, at that time, the quintal of pepper was worth in Lisbon eighty cruzados; that of cinnamon one hundred and eighty; that

[1] This is another instance of the niggardly disposition of D. Manuel; Charles V promised Magellan and Ruy Faleiro's heirs all the advantages and honours granted to Magellan, in case he or Ruy Faleiro died on the voyage, and of the discovery being effected through their instructions. This grant by Charles V will be printed with Magellan's voyage.

of cloves two hundred; that of ginger one hundred and twenty; that of mace three hundred; and the quintal of nutmeg one hundred. With these grants and salaries all remained rich and satisfied. The King in his great happiness gave great praises to the Lord, who had vouchsafed such great favour to him at the commencement of his reign; he sent, through the Bishop of Guarda, an offering to Our Lady of Guadelupe; he went with Dom Vasco to offer the necklace which the King of Cananor had given, with some rich stuffs, and a bag full of each kind of drug, and a piece of benzoin for the use of the convent. He also gave a large offering to the monastery of Belem, and to other holy houses, and convents of nuns, that all might give thanks and praises to the Lord for the great favour which He had shown to Portugal; this was also strongly enjoined in all the sermons and stations throughout all the churches. The King with the Queen went in solemn procession from the cathedral to Sam Domingo, where Calçadilha preached on the grandeur of India, and on the so great and miraculous discovery of it which the Lord had granted, and the good beginning which had been made for whatever more might please the Lord. So that he greatly stimulated and inclined the hearts of men to go thither to win honour and profit, such as they saw in the case of those who had come from thence. Then the King shortly after arranged for sending to India another large fleet of great and strong ships which could stow much cargo, and which, if they returned in safety, would bring him untold riches: all this was talked over and arranged with Dom Vasco, to whom the King gave a patent, by which he was to go as captain-major in any fleet which should sail for India; and by it he would be able to take the captaincy, notwithstanding its having been given to any other person, and he could put himself in a fleet which might already be at Belem on the point of departure; and in any fleet in which he might go

as captain-major he might remove or appoint the captains of the ships according to his will and pleasure, notwithstanding that the ships had already got captains, since the King gave him all power to make and unmake in the fleet all that he chose, without the King's remaining on that account under any obligation towards them.

Reckoning up from the day that Dom Vasco left Lisbon until the day on which he entered it, he went thirty-two months in this voyage,[1] in which it pleased the Lord in His mercy that it should have been for His holy service, for which God the Most High be praised, as it appears at the present day by the great exaltation of His holy Catholic faith, and the wonderful increase of so many Christian communities in all parts of India, which it has pleased Him to grant to us in our days. All which may it be for His holy praise for ever. Amen.

[1] Camoens, Canto x, 144.

Assi forão cortando o mar sereno,
Com vento sempre manso, & nunqua irado,
Atè que ouverão vista do terreno,
Em que nacerão, sempre desejado:
Entrârão pela foz do Tejo ameno,
E à sua patria, & Rey temido, & amado,
O premio, & gloria dão, porque mandou,
E com titulos novos se illustrou.

144.

Thus went they ploughing the appeased main
With always prosp'rous gale, and always fair;
Till sight long wisht, much long'd for, they obtain
Of that dear earth where first they suck't the air.
Sweet Tagus's mouth they enter once again:
Where to their King and master (whom they fear
And love) for having sent them, the renown
They give, and add new titles to his crown.

Fanshaw.

Osorio and Damian de Goes say that Gama left Portugal with one hundred and forty-eight men, and returned with fifty-five.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA: FROM THE "LENDAS DA INDIA" OF GASPAR CORREA.

CHAPTER I.

The Fleet of Dom Vasco da Gama, with which he went to India in the year 1502.

The King our sovereign, Dom Manuel, was very mindful, with the great regret which he felt in his heart, of the treachery which the King of Calecut had committed towards Pedralvarez Cabral, who, when he arrived from India, at once related it to him, and he had promised to send him again with a much larger fleet, and well equipped, in order to make war upon Calecut, and take vengeance on it, since he had more right on his side. With this recollection, as the time had arrived, he ordered large ships to be prepared for lading; and they were ten in number, into which was put much beautiful artillery, with plenty of munitions and weapons, all in great abundance, and supplies of everything most fitting for the voyage and their return to the kingdom; and they carried good men-at-arms, and captains, and gentlemen of birth, and Pedralvarez Cabral went as captain-major. All this was done and ordained by Vasco da Gama, whom the King charged with doing it all, for in the affairs of India the King ordered that he should do everything. When the fleet was quite ready to depart to Belem, and the King was one day talking about the affairs of the fleet, and of how well equipped and well supplied it was with everything, the King said: "Everything is much to my satisfac-

tion, but I pray the Lord that Pedralvarez may be as lucky with this fleet and voyage as Dom Vasco was with his; because, although we know Pedralvarez to be an excellent man, he is not very fortunate in affairs of the sea." The King had already said this in other conversations, and the Queen had said to Dom Vasco that no one ought to go to sea except him, because God had shown him so great favour. Dom Vasco, perceiving that the King would rejoice at his making this voyage, and inflamed by the desire to serve him, and grieving much at the evil which Calecut had done, grieving also at the state of affairs in India, as if they belonged to him because he had discovered it with so many hardships and risks of his life, and knowing that the King had a disinclination to, and want of confidence in, the doubtful fortune of Pedralvarez Cabral, he settled in his heart, after taking counsel with himself, to say to the King: "Sire, my inclination prompts me much to go in this fleet and make this voyage; wherefore I entreat your Highness so to allow it for your service; and this favour which I beg now, you have already granted me by this letter." He then drew out from his sleeve and presented the letter by which the King granted and gave to him the chief command of all the fleets which might go out of Portugal to India, in which he might choose to embark, and notwithstanding any impediment he might take this command, even though the fleet should be already at Belem ready to go across the bar, in which case he would have only the space of three days in which to embark; and the King bound himself to give satisfaction to any captain-major to whom he had thus given such a fleet, and this was expressed with much force and explicitness, without the King being able to disengage himself in any case. The King, on seeing this letter, together with D. Vasco's request, at once showed great satisfaction, and D. Vasco said to him: "Sire, the King of Calecut arrested me, and treated me with contumely, and

because I did not return there to avenge myself of that injury, he has again committed a greater one; on which account I feel in my heart a great desire and inclination to go and make havoc of him, and I trust in the Lord that He will assist me, so that I may take vengeance of him, and that your Highness may be much pleased: for which reason I entreat you to do me the favour which I beg, and to satisfy Pedralvarez Cabral with many favours, which he well deserves, and if he pleases let him go in the fleet of the next year." The King dissembled the great joy of his heart, saying: "D. Vasco, I thank you much for your good will for my service, and I shall be pleased if you stay here for this year, and that Pedralvarez go now as it has been ordained." To this D. Vasco replied, and said: "Sire, I promise your Highness as long as I live never to turn backwards in your service, either in word or deed: and so I will do on this occasion, for your Highness has got no reason for infringing the favour granted to me by letter, and by not complying with it you would greatly aggrieve me, and it would seem to me that I remained cut off from other greater favours." The King answered him: "D. Vasco, I do not expect to aggrieve you, but to increase your state with greater favours, as from you I hope for good service, and will deprive you of nothing which I have given you. In this I have no other hindrance save the offence to Pedralvarez, and the loss which he will experience in his ventures, for all which I will satisfy him: but I hold him to be so good a servant of mine that he will forget everything in order that my word may not be broken." D. Vasco said: "Sire, in this there is no other offence than what he may choose to take of his own will, and this same ought to be against me, since I am to blame for coming so late to this decision: on which account I bind myself with respect to the ventures of merchandise which he has embarked, to bring them all back to him laid out in goods, if he will

send a factor of his own, and he will see the service which I will do him in this; and his other expenditure for other things and provisions, I will take it all according to his list upon myself, with two thousand cruzados from my shipping house in addition for a horse, upon which he may ride till the coming year, when your Highness will provide him with another more profitable fleet than this; although the man who meets with disasters at sea ought to fly from it."[1]

Then the King summoned Pedralvarez and entreated much to let go that fleet, in order that he might comply with his troth, because it belonged to D. Vasco, and he would give him all the other fleets in which he might go in the absence of D. Vasco, who for this trouble would recompense him, and he would lose nothing of all his expenditure. Pedralvarez was a man of gentle disposition,[2] and was already aware of what was passing; he wished to please the King, so that he should be in greater obligation towards him, and he quickly answered: "Sire, I am yours, so also is the fleet, and I shall esteem myself very fortunate if your Highness should receive a service from me in this matter." The King said to him: "It will be very much for my service if you do not receive any affront."

[1] Pedralvarez Cabral lost seven ships out of thirteen: he discovered Brazil by accident, by having stood out too much into the offing to avoid the headlands of the Guinea coast.

[2] Barros' account of this change of command is very different; he says that the fleet was composed of twenty sail, five of which were to remain in India, and these five were to sail first under Vicente Sodre: he says that—"Pedralvares Cabral, when he saw this separation of the fleet, and the instructions given by the King to Vicente Sodre, which made him almost independent of him, was dissatisfied: and as he was a man with great delicacy and sensitiveness about points of honour, he made some requisitions upon this business, in which the King did not satisfy him. Finally he did not go, and the King gave the whole fleet to Vasco da Gama, with whom Vicente Sodre sailed in company, and he was designated as Gama's successor." Damian de Goes agrees with Barros.

Pedralvarez replied: "Sire, if the will of your Highness is done, that is my glory." And he kissed the King's hand, who thanked him much with very complimentary words.

CHAPTER II.

How D. Vasco da Gama increased the number of the fleet, and the captains whom he made, upon which he sailed for India in the year 1502.

As soon as the fleet was made over to D. Vasco, which consisted only of ten large ships of burden, he at once got ready besides, five lateen rigged caravels, which he caused to be well-equipped, because he hoped to make war with them, and he had the necessary artillery put into them, stowed below in the hold, and all the equipments were in great abundance, because the King's officers gave everything for the fleet which he asked for, as such were the King's orders; and all this was got ready in a few days. D. Vasco appointed the captains,[1] who were these: in the flagship *San Jeronymo*, Vicente Sodré, a relation of his; in the *Lionarda*, D. Luis Coutinho; in the *Leitoa*, Fernan d'Atouguia; in the *Batecabello*, Gil Fernandes de Sousa; in the *San Paulo*, Alvaro d'Ataide; in the *San Miguel*, Gil Mattoso. These six ships were the largest, and the others which were smaller were to remain in India if convenient, and if there was no cargo for them, namely: the *Bretoa*, Francisco Marecos; *San Rafael*, Diogo Fernandes Correa, who was to be factor at Cochym; the *Vera Cruz*, Ruy da Cunha; *Santa Elena*, Pero Affonso d'Aguiar; and the captains of the caravels were: in the *Santa Martha*, João Rodrigues Badarças; in

[1] Barros names as the captains who sailed with Gama, D. Luis Coutinho, son of D. Gonzalo Coutinho, Francisco da Cunha of the Terceira Islands, João Lopes Perestrello, Pedraffonso d'Aguiar, Gil Matoso, Ruy de Castanheda, Gil Fernandes, Diogo Fernandes Correa, to be factor Cochym, and Antonio do Campo.

the *Fradeza* João Lopes Perestrello; in the *Salta na palha*, Antão Vaz; in the *Estrella*, Antonio Fernandes; in the *Garrida*, Pero Rafael. In these fifteen sail were eight hundred men at arms, honourable men, and many gentlemen of birth with the captain-major and others his relations and friends, with the captains. The soldiers had three cruzados a month, and on shore one for their maintenance, and [the right to ship] two quintals of pepper to the kingdom every eighteen months, embarked with their own money, for the freight of which they were to pay the twenty-fourth part, which was one in twenty;[1] which the King, on account of his devotion and offerings to God, dedicated to the house of Our Lady of Belem, for the building of her house, for which he had much devotion, and had disposed for his tomb, and that of his descendants, as it became; God be greatly praised. Since D. Vasco was determined to leave in India a fleet and a supply of men to lord it over the Indian sea, all which he conversed about with the king, who was greatly pleased at it, because the expenditure they would incur at sea would be gained by the prizes which they would make, and it was settled that five small vessels should be prepared, of which the King gave the chief command to Estevan da Gama, a relation of D. Vasco,[2] who was to sail in May, which was the commencement of the summer, in order to see what weather they would meet with. The King was pleased that his servants should receive their palace stipends,[3] besides their pay and allowances, and each one should have his chest free, upon which they should only pay a twentieth for Belem, and they were not to bring any spices in it.

[1] De que havião de pagar de frete o quarto e vintena, que era de vinte hum.

[2] Barros says Estevan was the son of Aires da Gama, and cousin-german of Vasco da Gama. Osorio calls him Gamæ fratrem patruelem the son of his father's brother.

[3] *Moradia*, an allowance for provisions given to dependents of the palace.

Also in this fleet, at the advice of D. Vasco, the King made a diminution in the salaries and allowances of spices of the masters and pilots, bombardiers, and officers; but it was not a matter with which they were made discontented, but only that they had to pay a twentieth to Belem. This twentieth was always given to Belem on the return of this fleet, which was in the year 1503, until the year 1522, when the King Dom João, his son, who succeeded him on the throne, abolished it; and he took it away because the monastery was nearly completed; and, as there were still certain things to be done, he assigned to it a limited sum each year, which was paid to it by the India House on the arrival of the ships; and this was because the house of Belem was very well supplied with superabundance of wealth of ornaments, and above all, because the King (D. Manuel) had left to it at his death furniture which was worth more than five thousand cruzados. To continue, when the fleet was quite ready, it set sail in the river of Lisbon, cruising about with a great show of banners and standards, and crosses of Christ on all the sails, and saluting with much artillery; so they went to Belem, where the crews were mustered, each captain with his crew, all dressed in livery and galas, and the King was present, and shewed great favour and honour to all. As the weather did not serve for going out to sea, they remained there three days, during which many confessed and communicated; and on the day of our Lady of March (the 25th) there was a solemn mass and preaching,[1] at which the King was present with all his court; and as in the afternoon the wind was fair, the fleet set sail; and the King went in his

[1] Barros says that before the departure of the fleet on the 30th January, the King heard mass at the cathedral of Lisbon, and afterwards made a speech and related the merits of D. Vasco da Gama, and made him admiral of the Indian, Arabian, and Persian seas, and gave him his flag: he says Gama sailed on the 10th February. Osorio says the fleet left Belem on the 10th of February.

barge, and came near each ship to dismiss them with good wishes, and all saluting him with trumpets, the whole fleet went out of the mouth of the river, and the caravels with square sails set, so as to navigate under them whenever it was convenient.[1]

CHAPTER III.

Of the navigation of the fleet, and of what happened during the voyage until arriving at Mozambique, and what was done there.

The fleet, having left Lisbon, made its navigation after the manner which had been discovered, going to Guinea,[2] where they found frequent calms, so that many people fell sick, and Fernan d'Atouguia who was in the *Leitoa nova*, which was a large ship, died of fever, and the captain-major ordered Pero Affonso d'Aguiar to pass over to the *Leitoa*; and he made Pero de Mendoça, an honourable gentleman who accompanied him, captain of the ship of Pero Affonso. But as the Lord gave them wind they got out from Guinea, and made the coast of Brazil, which was already discovered, and they ran along as far as Cape Santo Agostinho, whence they crossed over to the Cape of Good Hope; and when they found themselves in the neighbourhood of the isles,

[1] It is stated further on, in cap. v, that on reaching the coast of India the caravels rigged their lateen sails and mounted their artillery.

[2] Barros says that they anchored at Porto Dale, near Cape Verde, on the 28th of February, and remained there six days taking in water, and here they met with a caravel coming from Mina, Captain Fernando de Montaroyo, which was bringing two hundred and fifty marks of gold. The admiral showed this to Gaspar da India, and to the ambassadors of Cochim and Cananor, in order to undo the impression produced upon them by the Venetians, who had told them that Portugal was poor. On Sunday, March 6, they landed on an island called Palma, in the port of Bezeguiche, where they heard mass. Barros says nothing of Brazil.

where the Moorish pilot said that the storm had fallen on Pedralvarez Cabral, they paid great attention to the sails, and kept a careful watch by day, and especially at night with all the small sails taken in, and sailed under the large sails without the studding sails, and by day under all sail. However, they met with a storm which separated them all, and which lasted six days, but followed their course: there only remained with the captain-major two ships and three caravels which kept up with him. The weather then became milder, and they spread all sail, and went on their course, and later they fonnd another ship and two small vessels. The others all ran for Mozambique, as all had instructions that if they parted company they were to go to Mozambique and wait for the captain-major. Thus they sailed on, and, judging that they had passed beyond the Cape, they stood in to sight the land, and ran along it. When they were in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Corrientes, another storm struck them, also blowing in their course,[1] which also again separated them. With this storm Pero de Mendoça was lost at the entrance of the banks of Sofala, for he grounded; and being lost, next day there came to him João Rodrigues Badarças and Francisco Marecos, who saved the crew and goods, and only the hull was lost,[2] to which they set fire, and went to Mozambique, where the captain-major was with the rest of the fleet, which had arrived there much before he came; and they had remained there at sea without landing, because so the instructions directed them. From the shore people brought what they had to sell, which they paid for well, to the satisfaction of the owners.

As soon as the captain-major arrived at Mozambique, the

[1] Assi de viagem.

[2] This ship was the *Santa Elena*. Barros says: "in this voyage, as far as the bank of Sofala, he met with a few storms, which unrigged some of his ships." He does not mention the loss of the *St. Helena*; Osorio mentions its loss and the salvage of the crew and goods.

Sheikh at once went to the ship with a present of cows and sheep, goats and fowls, which he had ready for him, for he already knew that he was the first Portuguese with whom he had had war.[1] The Sheikh on entering wished to throw himself at his feet and ask for pardon. The captain-major received him with pleasure, and did him honour, and ordered that he should be well paid for what he had brought, and he ordered a piece of scarlet cloth to be given him, with which he went away well pleased: and he and all his people served the captain-major as if he had been the lord of the country, because all made great profits with our people, who went about on shore without giving offence, or doing any injury, which had been very strictly prohibited them by the captain-major. He on the day of his arrival at once ordered them to land some timber which they had brought already wrought and fitted for building a caravel, and there was nothing more to do than join it together and pitch and caulk it, with such preparation that in twelve days it was launched into the sea;[2] where they finished its upper works; and it was named the *Pomposa*, and João Serrão,[3] an honourable gentleman, was appointed its captain. Also when Vasco de Gama arrived at Mozambique, the King having given orders to him to send and discover Sofala and establish there trade and barter, by reason of the information which Sancho de Toar gave the King of the affairs of Sofala (as has been already narrated in the history of the fleet of Pedralvarez Cabral),[4] he at once sent thither Pero Affonso d'Aguiar with

[1] Barros says this was not the same Sheikh as the one at the time of Gama's first voyage.

[2] Osorio and Barros both differ from Correa, and say that Gama went to Sofala with four ships, whilst he sent Vicente Sodré to Mozambique, where he put together the caravel, which was almost ready when Gama arrived at Mozambique on the 4th of June, fifteen days after Sodré had arrived there. Osorio here gives a description of the sailing qualities of caravels, and of their going close to the wind.

[3] Joan Serrano, the companion of Magellan in 1519.

[4] Pedralvares Cabral, on his return from India, in the beginning of

two caravels, which carried various kinds of Cambay stuffs and beads and other things for trade, for they got some things which the Sheikh had; with all which things much profit was made, because for a cloth which was worth a hundred and fifty reis, they gave a weight of gold which was worth seven hundred and fifty reis. Pedro Affonso got much information from the sheikh of the manner of the trade, and as to what was given for each kind of the cloths which he carried and for other things; and the sheikh gave him a good pilot who knew the way. The captain-major sent a large present to the King, who was a heathen cafre, for already in Sofala they were well informed of our affairs, and had been well-satisfied when Sancho de Toar had gone there.

Pero Affonso set sail, and in a few days arrived at Sofala, and on entering the river, he sent on shore a Mozambique man who already knew our speech, and he sent to ask leave of the King to come and speak to him and give him the message which he had brought from the King of Portugal's captain-major, who was in Mozambique. The King was pleased, and sent him word to come and welcome, and he sent him his ring, which he gave as a safe conduct; upon which Pero Affonso at once went, well-dressed, with twenty men also well-clothed, and the King received him with much honour, and made him sit down on the mats, upon which he was seated with the chief men of the conntry. Pero Affonso presented to him a very fine piece of scarlet cloth, and other pieces of fine coloured cloths, and a large Flanders mirror, and knives and red barret-caps, and a quantity of cut-glass beads strung together, with which the King was

1501, sent Sancho de Toar in a small vessel from Mozambique to Sofala: he was accompanied by the interpreter Gaspar da India and a Melindian pilot, and some Mozambique merchants with Cambay stuffs; he was well received by the King of Sofala. Sancho de Toar's vessel reached Lisbon last of all Cabral's fleet, in September 1501.

much pleased, and at once took them up in his hand, and looked at them for a space, praising them much to his people.

Then Pero Affonso said, that the captain-major sent him there to learn from him whether he would be pleased to be great friends with the King his sovereign, who had a great desire to establish peace and friendship with him for ever: which peace and friendship were for the purpose of sending to his country the Portuguese with merchandise, to trade, as did the other merchants who came to his country, giving him their merchandise for the same prices as those for which the other merchants also gave theirs. When the King had heard all this, and talked it over with his people, he replied that, he dwelt in his country without doing harm to anyone, and that he did much good to all that came to his country, especially to the merchants, because from them he received great profit, and he would treat in the same way the Portuguese who might come to his country to trade as did the other merchants; and as he had already said this to the other Portuguese who had come thither, so now he again repeated it, and he would be glad to do good, so that later evil might not ensue to him. To this, Pero Affonso answered that such would never happen, but that if he was a good friend to the King of Portugal, this peace would be lasting for ever, as long as he acted truly, and he would be like a brother of the King of Portugal. At this the King showed great satisfaction, and reaffirmed all that he had said, swearing to it by the sun and the heavens, and upon his head and his belly, that he would fulfil all as long as he lived, and that he would buy as much merchandise as they brought, and would give for it what he gave to the other merchants, which was a price that had been a long time established. As a pledge of the truth of this, he took off from his thumb a gold ring and gave it to Pero Affonso, and then gave as a present to the captain-major a bundle of strings of small gold beads,

which they call *pingo*, and which weighed a thousand mithkals, and each mithkal is worth five hundred reis; and he gave another for the King which weighed three thousand mithkals, and one to Pero Afonso of five hundred mithkals, and he said that he gave that to the King of Portugal as a sign of everlasting brotherhood as long as they complied with it also towards him, and did no harm to his trade and merchants, nor to his country. In confirmation of the truth of all he said, the King touched with his right hand the hands of all his people who were there present, and this was all the confirmation of their troth, for they had no custom of writing. Pero Afonso gave it all in writing, as it had been said, signed by himself and six men. When it was finished the paper was read, and the interpreter declared it all, at which the King was much amazed with his people, for they had never seen people write, and they said that the paper spoke by art of the devil, and the King took it in his hand. So on that day Pero Afonso returned to the caravels, whither the King sent him fowls and eggs, yams and other things which they had in the country.

The next day Pero Afonso returned to the King, saying that he would be glad to buy and sell things, at which the King was pleased, and told him to order what he had to be brought and it should be sold at once. Then they brought everything before the King, who ordered the merchants of the country to come there, and they separated the goods, each kind by itself, and having counted it all, they weighed gold in small scales, and upon each kind of cloth they placed its price, in the gold which each one was worth. Then the King said that those stuffs were worth the gold which was on the top of them, and that they might take it, and he said that his dues were already accounted for in the weighing, as the merchants paid them. Pero Afonso ordered the gold to be taken up, and continued talking with the King, and this manner of buying and selling seemed to him to be very

size of the body, and very savoury. The streets of the city are very narrow, as the houses are very high, of three and four stories, and one can run along the tops of them upon the terraces, as the houses are very close together: and in the port there were many ships.

A Moor ruled over this city, who did not possess more country than the city itself. There was great alarm among the people on seeing so great a fleet enter the port; and on knowing that it was ours, of which they already knew so much from the events of Mozambique and Melinde, all the people felt great fear. When the fleet had come to anchor, the captain-major sent a pilot in a boat, which put him on shore, and by him he sent word to the King to send him a man of his own through whom he might let him know what he came to seek. When the pilot gave this message to the King, he inquired about many things, touching which the pilot could not give him any information; he then at once sent a respectable Moor with the pilot, who embarked with him in the boat and went to the ship, where the captain-major said to him: "Go and say to the King that this fleet is of the King of Portugal, lord of the sea and of the land, and I am come here to establish with him good peace and friendship and trade; and for this purpose let him come to me to arrange all this, because it cannot be arranged by messages. And in the name of the King of Portugal I give him a safe-conduct to come and return without receiving any harm, even though we should not come to an agreement; and if he should not come, I will at once send people on shore, who will go to his house to take and bring him: and with respect to what is determined in this matter, if he is going to come, do you return at once with the answer; and if he does not choose to come, do not you return again, because then I will order to send and fetch him."

The boat took the Moor back again on shore and set him

on the beach, and returned to the ship. The Moor went to the King and gave him the message; when it had been heard by the King and his chief men, who were waiting with him to see what it would be, the King and all of them were much amazed and alarmed, because if our people were to do them harm, they had nowhere to take refuge, nor anyone to assist them, and they would lose all they had, for they could not save anything out of the city. The King talked with them all about this matter, and having held a council upon it, he sent his answer, saying to the captain-major that he should send him a signed paper, affirmed upon the head of the King of Portugal, to the effect that he would do him no harm, nor use constraint, and would allow him to return to land freely, and upon that he would come to speak to him at the water side, and if the captain-major also promised that if they did not agree, he would not do any injury to the city. The Moor came off in a shore boat with this message, and when the captain-major heard it, he at once determined to put pressure upon the King so as to make him render tribute to the King of Portugal, or if he did not choose to do so, he would take his city: and with this design he sent him the safe-conduct as he had requested. The King, after sending to ask for the safe-conduct, came to another decision, which was not to go and speak with the captain-major.

There was with the King a very rich Moor, and the chief man of the city, named Mahomed Arcone, who entertained thoughts of rising up against the King, and with false intentions he said to the King that he ought to go to the captain-major and not be wanting to his word, because the captain-major would not violate the safe-conduct which he gave him; and the Moor said this because he well understood that the captain-major would not let the King go unless he did what he required of him, during which something might intervene by means of which he might be made

King, and he would do all that the captain-major wished: and he pressed the King so much to go, that he offered himself to go with him, aud if it should be convenient to remain as a hostage for him until the agreements were completed, upon which the King took confidence. The next day he came to the strand with many men-at-arms, and the captain in his barge and the other captains in their boats with flags and the men gaily dressed, and swivel-guns in the boats, with trumpets and kettledrums; on approaching he waited, then the King came in a boat with some of his chief men, and he entered the boat of the captain-major, who received him with much honour, and made to him many speeches suitable to his purpose, telling him that if he was the friend of the King of Portugal he would be very powerful, and he would be secure for ever from anyone doing injury to his city and port, and his ships would navigate securely wherever he chose that they should go, and he would establish a trade in the city from which he would derive much profit. When the King heard this he was much pleased, saying that he was delighted with all he said, and would do all that he wanted, because now he truly believed in the goodness of the Portuguese, of whom the contrary had been related to him, on which account he held himself as a friend of the King of Portugal, for ever, as long as he lived. Then the captain-major said to him that, since he thus became a friend of the King his sovereign, he must also do as did the other kings and sovereigns who newly became his friends, which was that each year he should pay a certain sum of money, or a rich jewel, which they did thus as a sign that by this yearly payment it was known that they were in this good friendship; because when they did not pay, it was known that they were not friends; and therefore it was necessary that he should do thus, giving each year a jewel or money as he best pleased. When the King heard this, he became very sad, saying

that the practices of good amity were tho being a friend like a brother, and that he would give a good reception to the Portuguese in his city and in his port, and would order everything to be given them for their money; but that to have to pay each year money or a jewel was not a mode of good friendship, because it was tributary subjection, and was like being a captive, and therefore if the captain-major was satisfied with good peace and friendship without exactions, he was well pleased, but that to pay tribute would be his dishonour; and therefore he did not wish for such friendship with subjection, because sons would not choose to have such with their own fathers. Then the captain-major answered him: "I am the slave of the King my sovereign, and all the men whom you see here and who are in that fleet will do that which I command; and know for certain, that if I choose, in one single hour your city would be reduced to embers, and if I chose to kill your people, they would all be burned in the fire; and when you saw that, I well know that you would repent of what you now say, and you would then give much more than what I now ask for, and it will not profit you; and should you disbelieve that I would do this, it is in your power if you wish to see it done at once: and if you are not afraid of this, go on shore, for you will see it speedily." The King replied: "If I had known that you intended to make me a captive, I would not have come, but have fled to the woods, for it is better to be a jackal at large, than a greyhound bound with a golden leash." At this the captain-major became very irate, and said: "There is no Moor who will be on good terms until they do him harm, therefore go at once to your house, for I promise that I will at once come after you." And he told Gaspar the interpreter, who spoke, to say, in the language [of the country], to the captains that they were to go to the ships and bring all the crews armed and go and burn the city. This Gaspar said aloud in the lan-

guage for the King to understand. The captain-major told the King to go on shore and fly to the woods, as he had greyhonnds who would be able to catch him there, and would fetch him by the ears and drag him to the beach, and that he would take him away with an iron ring round his neck, and shew him throughont India, so that all might see what would be gained by not choosing to be the captive of the King of Portugal.

The King and those that were with him did not know whether they were alive or dead, being overcome with fear. Then an old man who was with the King asked leave of the captain-major to speak, and he told him to speak all that he wished in security. He said: "Sir, we well know that it is in your power to do all that you say and much more, for yonr might is the greatest; and Sir, you well see that the King's replies are without counsel. He does not know whether he speaks mistakenly or to the purpose; but if it were your pleasure that withont rage or anger you shonld allow us to return to the land, the King wonld hold his council undistnrbed, and would do what is fitting with the counsel of his people, to whom he will relate what has passed here." The captain-major said: "Do you go on shore, for I have already told you that yon may go; but if you who are here are four, and do not come to an agreement with me, when I speak to you what I have spoken, what will it be on shore, where you will be many, and each one will speak according to his inclination, you boing the chief men who will have to be there in the council? So that there is no need to talk more nor to answer, for which reason I tell you that you will not go from this without first settling with me for good or for evil, therefore you may answer as you please, for whether it is good or ill, you will go in safety on shore, on account of the safe-conduct which you hold." The King and his people who were with him talked together in great alarm; then the King, con-

strained by the manifest peril in which he saw his life and city, and counselled by his people, granted all that the captain-major asked, begging him not to add afterwards further demands, which the captain-major promised him; he[1] said that he would at once give some bracelets and certain pearls, which were worth five thousand cruzados, which he would give in these articles, or else silver and gold to that amount. Upon this he at once sent for his scribe to come from the shore, with a leaf of gold, upon which all was written down, and signed by the King, and those who were with him. When all this was ended, the King, because he was vexed with Mohamed Arcone for having induced him to come there, said to the captain-major that he would be pleased if Mohamed Arcone remained there until he sent to him what he was to send; at this the captain-major was pleased, and the King left with him two other Moors besides. Then the captain-major bade him embark in his boat, and did him great honour. When he arrived on shore, he was received by his people as one whom they saw alive and had thought was dead: and the captain-major got back to his ship, and ordered the Moors to be put into a cabin, and good watch to be kept over them. The King then sent to the ships many boats laden with refreshments, a portion for each ship and caravel. Then the captain-major sent him a piece of scarlet cloth, and pieces of coloured silks, with which the King was pleased. The fleet remained there six days, all the crews going ashore to amuse themselves, without doing any injury or outrage, because so the captain-major had ordered it to be proclaimed under pain of death; and no one dared to stir against that, because they had great fear of him. But

[1] It is not clear whether this *he* refers to the King or to the captain-major, whether the sentence is an offer by the King, or an injunction by the captain-major.

nevertheless the city was much damaged, because no one would take upon himself to complain.

The captain-major having disposed matters for his departure, he told the Moors to send to the shore for that which the King had to send, because he wished to go away. The Moors had sent many messages to the King to take them out of pledge; but the King sent to tell Mahomed Arcone to pay himself, since he had deceived him, and made him go and speak with the captain-major; upon which many messages were sent, and as the King set himself against paying, the Moor told the captain-major what the King said, and why he did not choose to pay. The captain-major was in a great passion, and said: "Since you were aware of this, why did yon remain for your bad king?" Then he ordered them to be stripped naked, and bound hand and foot, and put into his boat, and to remain thus roasting in the sun until they died, since they had deceived him, and when they were dead, he would go on shore and seek the King, [and he said:] "I will do as mnch to him, and I will lade these ships with the wealth of the city, and the women and children shall be captive slaves."

This having been told to the King, he sent to tell the captain-major secretly that he had not sent the money only in order that he should ill-treat Mohamed Arcone, who was bad and prond, and had done him many injuries, and that he shonld therefore let him stay in the sun for his vengeance, for as to the money that was safe. The Moors seeing themselves at the point of death, Mahomed Arcone, who was very rich, sent to fetch from his house a jewelled necklace worth ten thousand cruzados, which he gave to the captain-major, who at once ordered them to be carried on shore.[1] When the King knew of this, he sent to the captain-major some pieces of rich cloth and gold jewels,

[1] It is satisfactory to see that Arcone's treason and plotting did not escape unpunished.

with which he departed, with the intention of inducing the King to order a fortress to be built there, which would be very profitable for the trade of Sofala, and that the King of Quiloa should make the fortress, and the people of the city, which was very rich, should pay the expenses of the captain and soldiers. This was done, as I will relate further on.[1]

In the city there were some very beautiful women, who,

[1] Barros relates that Gama arrived at Quiloa on the 12th of July, and that the city was in terror at the salvos of artillery which the admiral fired to frighten the people; and as the King had been very cunning with Cabral and João de Nova, he did not use delay which would have allowed the King time to bring men into the island to defend it, but he used other more conclusive methods by which he made the King come to speak to him in a boat with five of his chief men, when the admiral was already going to land and put the city to fire and sword. The admiral received this king, whose name was Ibrahim, better than he deserved: at last he gave him a letter from the King D. Manuel, and treated with him upon it, that he should become the vassal of the King of Portugal so as to remain in friendship with him, and under his protection, paying a tribute of five hundred mithkals of gold, a weight which coined might equal five hundred and eighty-four cruzados, this more as a sign of obedience than for the quantity. In return for which the admiral sent him a patent in the name of King Manuel, which stated that he accepted him as a vassal with that tribute, promising to defend and protect him, etc. Besides, he sent him a standard of the royal arms of this kingdom in sign of the honour of vassalage which he received, and some presents for himself. This standard was raised upon a spear, and carried in a boat accompanied by others containing many people in gay clothing, with trumpets; and the King came to receive it on the beach, saluting it as though he recognised in it a sign of his protection. He took it in his own hands, and carried it for a good space, and then delivered it to a chief man of the Moors, who went round all the city, and the people behind him, shouting *Portugal, Portugal!* At last it was placed in sight of our ships on a tower of the King's houses. When this solemnity was ended the admiral took leave of the King and also of Mahomed Encouim, who was a principal cause of the King's coming into that obedience, and the admiral took much pleasure in seeing him, as he had been a faithful friend of the captains who had gone there.

Osorio's account agrees with that of Correa; he says that the King gave Mahomed Ancoui as a pledge for the payment of the tribute, and withheld it in order that Gama might ill-treat the hostage.

on account of being much shut up by the Moors, from their custom of being very jealous, were very captive and ill-treated. For this reason many fled during these days, and came to the Portuguese, who took them in secretly on board the ships, and kept them in strict concealment. All these women asked to be made Christians, as they would rather be captives of the Christians than wives of the Moors. The captains, on hearing of this, and that the women had run away, spoke to them, but they persisted in their wish to become Christians; and the captains reported it to the captain-major, who sent Gaspar the interpreter round the ships to speak to the women, and see what they said. He said to the captain-major: "Sir, it is useless for me to go and speak to them, for I well know that they will sooner fling themselves into the sea than return on shore; therefore do you decide what seems good to you with respect to them." Then the captain-major talked it over with the captains, and said that "the Christianity which these women asked for was not on account of any good understanding which they possessed of our holy faith, but solely in order to see themselves freed from bad treatment by the Moors, together with the allurements which had been used towards them by those who had stolen them; and although this was the case at present, in future, with time, they might become perfect Christians. For this it would be reason to take them away, however numerous they might be, if we were now going to Portugal, even though it was a serious inconvenience for the consciences of the crews, and for other objections, that so many women should go in ships amongst so many men, from which so many evils might arise, which would be worse in the sight of God than it would be to leave them behind now, which looked ill on account of their request for Christianity. In this I hold the chief objection to be that of the consciences of the crews, who will forget their souls with the conversation of the

women, and they will forget that every moment death is close at hand: this is the chief thing which obliges me to send these women back again on shore, and my heart grieves, for it seems like inhumanity; but it is fitting that I should do it. At least the credit will remain to us of being reasonable people, and who keep good faith."

The captain-major ordered, therefore, all the women to be brought to his ship, and that only some little girls should be left, if there were any who had not been touched by men. This he ordered to be proclaimed under pain of death throughout the ships and caravels. All the women were brought to the captain-major, and they exceeded two hundred: he ordered them to be all carried on shore, and sent with them Vicente Sodré, the captain of his ship, with Gaspar the interpreter, to tell the King that he much entreated him that no harm should be done to those women, because, if when he returned from India he learned that any injury had been done them, he would break the peace on that account, and would destroy the city; and this he swore by the head of the King his sovereign; and if the King of Quiloa could not comply with this, as he much entreated, that then he should send them back again, and he would make Christians of them and take them away.

The women, on seeing that they were to be carried on shore, wished to throw themselves into the sea, and some did throw themselves in, but were picked up again. When they had been led before the King, and the captain-major's message had been given him, some people also had already complained to him that our men had stolen and carried off their wives, then the King sent to say that it should be done as the captain-major desired: and he at once sent several men to proclaim throughout the city that whoever missed a woman should come to his palace to fetch her, proclaiming at the same time the conditions with which he would deliver them up, which were, that if they did any

harm to the women, they wonld be put to death for it, and their property confiscated. Therefore, whoever wished to do so, should come at once and fetch the women, or else he wonld send them back to the captain-major. After that, many came and took away the women; bnt there remained as many as forty, whose husbands came to tell the King that they did not want them. All this passed in the presence of Vicente Sodré, whom the King asked to witness it all. The King then sent great thanks to the captain-major, and to ask him to say what was to be done with the women that remained, whose husbands would not take them back, for they cried out that they were already Christians, and that water had been poured upon their heads; for which reason he begged him mnch to send and fetch them, for if they remained on shore, all of them would be killed. The captain-major seeing this, of necessity sent to fetch them to his ship, for he did not trust to anyone else, and ordered them to be pnt into locked cabins, and in India he placed them in Cananor and Cochym.[1] The younger ones of these women, who were many, were the first women who went from India to Portugal. With this, the fleet being equipped with everything it required, it set sail for Melinde.

[1] Gama seems to have acted with much discretion in this matter, and to have got out of a disagreeable business with the least amount of dissatisfaction to all parties.

CHAPTER V.

How the fleet having sailed from Quiloa went to Melinde, and at sea met with the fleet of Estevan da Gama, which left the kingdom in May, and of the things which the captain-major did at Onor and Baticala.

While the fleet was making its way along the coast to Melinde, Pero Afonso d'Aguiar, who came from Mozambique, appeared in the offing, at which there was much pleasure; and Pero Affonso came to the captain-major in his small boat to give him an account of what he had left accomplished, and went on with him as far as Melinde. On arriving in sight of the port, the King, who already had the news, was ready, with great joy at the arrival of his great friend Dom Vasco da Gama; on the fleet coming in, it anchored with a great salvo of artillery. The King with haste got into a boat which he had ready, and went to the captain-major, bringing after him boats spread over with green boughs, accompanied by festive musical instruments; the boats were laden with things to eat, a boat for each ship. The captain-major, on being aware that it was the King who was coming, got into his boat with great haste, and went to receive the King in the sea: the King got into his boat, and both embraced as if they were brothers and great friends, exchanging great courtesies; thus they went to the ship, where the King was seated on a handsome chair and dais, which had been already prepared. Immediately afterwards all the captains came, and were received with much pleasure by the King, and all shewed him great honour and courtesy, seeing that the captain-major shewed him the same respect and honour as he did to the King of Portugal. Then the captain-major presented to him the rich presents which the King of Portugal had sent with his

letters, in which he had written to him words of very enduring affection. The captain-major also presented to the King other gifts from himself, in recognition of the great good which he had done him in putting him in the way to reach India, from which such great honour had accrued to him, and to all his lineage. All which the King received with great satisfaction. Thus they continued conversing for a good space, the King inquiring about his health, and his voyage, giving him also an account of how Joan da Nova had been equipped, and of what had happened to him in India. The King entreated the captain-major much to go on shore and remain in his houses with his captains, and to send all the crews to rest and amuse themselves on shore, since the city was his, the same as his own. The captain-major said to him: "Sire, you well know how much I am your friend, and that there is nothing in the world which I would not do for your service, even expending my life to satisfy your honour; but what you ask me to do is a matter of amusement, which I am unable to do, for it would be losing the time for the voyage on which I am going, of which it is so incumbent on me to give a good account to the King my sovereign: neither will I allow the crews to go on shore, so that they may do no injury, for I know that they do it, and no one of your people shall have cause to make a complaint, for me to have to punish them; therefore, as my friend, do you be satisfied with that which is so much my duty." To this the King replied that it should be as he wished, and, embracing him several times, he took his leave, and as he went on shore the captain-major went with him to the beach, and conveyed him in his boat, which for that purpose was fitted out with a dais and crimson velvet, and a handsome chair with brocade cushions, all which he ordered to be sent to the King's house; he then returned to the ship. The captains, with their men gaily dressed, went to accompany the King as far as his

palace with sound of trumpets, and he dismissed them with much courtesy, and they returned to the ships. The captain-major ordered that they should send on shore only persons to buy for the crews what was required, and that on no account were they to take anything without paying for it, for he well knew that the King would order that no money should be taken for anything, which they were strictly to prohibit the buyers from allowing. The King sent to proclaim that the things which the Portuguese wished to buy were to be put outside the doors, and that no money was to be taken from them, because he would send and pay for everything.

The King sent to each ship and caravel so much victuals dressed after their fashion, that there was abundance for all the crews, also much fresh vegetables; this he always did each day, as long as the fleet was there, which was for three days, while they stayed there to take in several tanks which the King had ordered to be made, and the captain-major ordered to be paid for: and he was much pleased with them, for they were a very good equipment for the fleet; he took them especially for the large ships of burden, because they set free a large space which was occupied by barrels; these tanks were afterwards filled with water, and they took from on shore all that was wanted, which was pitch for repairing the sides of the ships, and much coir, with which they at once made hawsers for all the fleet and other cordage. These were made in great abundance with the machines which our people set up on the beach, and with the help of many people whom the King sent, for they worked by night and by day. So the captain-major at once arranged for his departure, because his coming there had only been for the sake of seeing the King, of whom he was so great a friend. And when the day for the departure was fixed, the King did not choose that the captain-major should come on shore to take leave of him, but he chose to come

to bid him farewell in his own ship to do him greater honour; and he came with all his people with great rejoicings, and the captain-major received him with trumpets and kettle-drums, and a salute of artillery, and he went down into the boat to take the King by the hand and conduct him on board. The captains then came there immediately to take leave, and the King wished to dine there with the captain-major and captains, and they had a great banquet with much mirth. But there came so much victuals from the shore that it was a marvel the great abundance which remained over. When the dinner was over, the captains took leave and went to their ships. The King gave to each of them rich stuffs, and remained conversing with the captain-major in his cabin about his pleasure and satisfaction, and he gave him a valuable jewelled necklace for the King of Portugal, worth ten thousand cruzados, and others of not much less value for himself, with other rich gifts, amongst which he gave him a bedstead of Cambay, wrought with gold and mother-of-pearl, a very beautiful thing; and he gave him his letters for the King, and a chest full of rich stuffs of various kinds for the Queen, and a white embroidered canopy for a bed, the most delicate piece of needlework, like none other that had ever been seen; this had been made in Bengal, a country where they make wonderful things with the needle, and which were seen later. After this the King took leave, and would not suffer the captain-major to come out of his ship, and entreated him to set sail, as he would like to witness his sailing since the wind was fair. This the captain-major did, for the anchor was already apeak as he had commanded, and he loosed the sails, which the other ships did, as they also had got in the slack of their cables. The King remained looking on whilst all set sail. This was on the 18th of August of this present year.[1]

[1] The circumstantial nature of this account of the visit to Melinde,

The next day, when it dawned, and they had already lost sight of the land, the caravels which were foremost, sighted some sails far out to sea, and at once made them some signals by firing guns, which, being heard, the ships watched, and a caravel came up to the captain-major to bring him word, and he held on his course until they got sight of one another, and they came up to the ships with flags and standards; and one of them, which carried a flag at the peak, came under the stern of the captain-major and saluted, hauling down the flag from the peak, and the sailor in the top saluted by waving it. To this the flag-ship replied with trumpets and kettle-drums and great shouts, and the ship fired much artillery; these were five ships which had remained in Lisbon getting ready when Dom Vasco set sail, and which sailed two months later. Their captain-major was Estevau da Gama, a relation of the captain-major; the other captains were Vasco Fernandes Tinoco, Ruy Lorenço Ravasco, Diogo Fernandes Peteira, João Fernandes de Mello. Antonio de Saldanha was coming in these ships with instructions to go with them on a cruise to the Straits of Mekkah, and did not come, as he fell ill at the time of their departure.[1]

and the obligations which Gama was under to the King of Melinde, make Correa's relation more probable than that of Barros and Osorio, who both say that Gama did not reach Melinde on account of the currents, but put into a bay eight leagues or thirty miles below Melinde, where the King sent him a letter by Luis de Moura, one of the banished men whom Pedralvares Cabral had left, with offers of assistance: and Gama replied that he had nothing to do there except to visit the King which he desired, and that as the weather did not permit, when he returned from India he hoped he should have better weather to enable him to visit him. Castanheda says Gama touched at Melinde, and visited the King there.

[1] Barros says that on leaving the bay near Melinde Gama fell in with Estevan da Gama and three ships out at sea, and that after they arrived at Anchediva the rest of the whole of the fleet arrived, except Antonio do Campo, who did not go that year to India Barros names the captains of Estevan da Gama's flotilla—Lopo Mendes de Vasconcellos, Thomaz

The captain-major hove to until Estevan da Gama got into a boat and cast off, and came aboard of him. This the other captains did also, with some honourable persons who came along with them.[1] The captain-major received them with fitting honours, and they related to him that they had fallen in with such weather that they had never met with storms until arriving at Mozambique, where they took in wood and water, and they had come in haste to arrive at Melinde. So that there was much joy in all the fleet with the letters which they brought from those from whom they desired them, and also many letters from the King to the captain-major: with these matters they spent the whole day until the evening, when the captains returned to their ships, and hoisted in their boats, and continued on their course. Whilst crossing the open sea, they met with a heavy gale, so that the sea rose very much, and the caravels ran under all sail, because otherwise the seas would overtake them, as they came astern, so that they left the fleet behind. The captain-major not seeing the caravels was much put out, believing that they had met with some disaster. The gale abated and the caravels reached land at Dabul, where they rigged their lateen sails, and mounted their artillery, and anchored in a bay below Dabul towards Goa, but [the men] did not go out on shore. Many Indian boats came to see what they could hear of our ships, and brought fowls, figs, and eggs to sell, which our men paid for in vintens of silver, and they gave six fowls for one vintem [*less than twopence*]. They remained there two days and then went along the coast. The fleet all together made the land at Dabul and

de Carmona, Lopo Dias, a servant of D. Alvaro, brother of the Duke of Bragança, and John de Bonagracia, an Italian. Osorio says that Estevan da Gama had joined Gama already at Quiloa with five ships, which made the fleet to consist of nineteen ships, that of Antonio do Campo having disappeared.

[1] The presence on board of these gentlemen may account for the discrepancy of the names of the captains given by Correa and Barros.

ran along the coast, except the ship of João Fernandes de Mello, which disappeared running thus along the coast. There came with the caravels two ships, which had also been driven apart by the wind, and they sailed together, and the fleet also going by night, passed well out to sea without seeing them, and from the caravels they only saw the lantern, and went after it, thinking that it was a Moorish ship, and intending to capture it. When it dawned they saw the fleet, and went to salute the flag-ship; running thus along the coast about as far as Angediva, they saw three sail close in shore. The captain-major sent the caravels to them; but they were fustas of thieves, which, with oars and sails, got into a river called Onor, where there was a Moor who equipped them, named Timoja. All which Gaspar the interpreter related to the captain-major, and that this Moor committed great robberies at sea upon all that he fell in with, and that this Moor was a foreigner, and paid part of the plunder to the King of Garçopa, who was ruler of the country.

The captain-major anchored before this river, and ordered Estevan da Gama to go to the river with the boats and men equipped. On entering the river they found some palisades, from which some small guns and arrows were discharged at them. Our men landing on the shore, the Moors at once fled, and our men set fire to the vessels which were beached and in the river, laden with goods, and all were burned. The watch-boats got into a creek where the boats conld not follow them. Then the interpreter pointed out another river by which the boats went and reached the town, which was large, and in which were many fighting men; and our men fell upon them, and the Moors fled at once, and the town was burned with all that was in it. So our men without any danger returned to the ships, which at once set sail, and the next day reached the port of Baticala, where there were many Moorish ships, because this port was a

great place for loading rice, iron, and sugar, which were transported to all parts of India. Here it was already known what our people had done at Onor, and they prepared themselves with the intention of preventing our men from entering the river, planting some small cannon upon a wall, which they had upon a rock which stood on the bar. The captain-major sent Estevan da Gama thither with boats and armed men, and with the tide which was rising he entered the river without the many people who came together being able to defend it; they threw many stones from the hill at the boats, which on reaching the shore fell upon some wharves which the Moors had made for loading the ships, the Moors at once fled, leaving behind a great quantity of loads of rice and sugar, which they were going to put on board, and the Portuguese returned to their boats in order to go to the town, which was higher up the river. As they were going thither, some Moors of the country said to them that they should not go to do any injury, because they themselves were going to the captain-major with a message from the King who was giving him his submission. Then Estevan da Gama sent a man with the Moors to see what were the orders of the captain-major. The captain-major seeing the Moors coming sat down in his chair, trimmed with crimson velvet, with a carpet beneath it. When the Moors entered, one of them, an honourable old man, took the feet of the captain-major to kiss them, saying that the King of Baticala complained of their carrying on war in his port without first informing themselves of him whether he would obey him or not; but since it had been done, that they should do nothing further, because he would do whatever the captain-major commanded. The captain replied: "If this is the truth, why did he not order a white flag to be set upon the bar, instead of first sending people to stone the boats, and not letting them enter? For which he deserved what had been done,

which was nothing to what should be done if he did not fulfil this message of his very completely; for I did not come with the design of doing injury to him, and when I found war, I ordered it to be made, for this is the fleet of the King of Portugal my sovereign, who is lord of the sea, of all the world, and also of all this coast; for which reason all the rivers and ports which have got shipping have to obey him, and pay tribute for their people who go in their fleets: and this only as a sign of obedience, in order that thereby their ports may be free and that they may carry on in them their trade and profits in security, neither trading in pepper, nor bringing Turks, nor going to the port of Calecut, because for any of these three things the ships which shall be found to have done these shall be burned, with as many as may be captured in them. Therefore, if the King speaks the truth, let him at once make an agreement as to what may be his pleasure, and send me at once an answer respecting it; and should it not be a good one I will immediately send and burn those ships and the town, and will cause much harm to be done, which I will order to be done each year, so that his port shall have no trade." The King, and his people who were present, having heard this message, held their council, and agreed to ask for peace, and he replied to the captain-major that it was not in his power to give gold or silver, but that he would give what was dealt in in the country, which was rice, of which he would give a thousand loads every year for the crews, and five hundred loads of other better rice for the captains, and that more he could not give, because he had the name of king, and was a tenant of the King of Bisnagá, to whom the country belonged. The interpreter affirmed all this to the captain-major, and said that the King spoke the truth: for that reason he was satisfied with the rice which the King offered, who gave him at once his letter binding himself to it. The captain-major gave him his safe-conduct,

upon which the rice was immediately sent in Indian boats, with a large quantity of refreshments for the whole fleet. All this having been concluded, the captain-major set sail for Cananor.[1]

CHAPTER VI.

How the fleet having left Baticala, what happened to it before arriving at Cananor, in the port of Marahia, whence it went to Cananor.

As the fleet was on its way to Cananor, before reaching Mount Dely, a gust of wind struck it, which sprung the mainmast of the ship *Leitoa Esmeralda*, in which Pero Afonzo d'Aguiar sailed; and the lances which were in the top fell upon the deck, and killed four men, and wounded several, and there was one who was transfixed with eight lances. On account of this, the captain-major anchored in the bay of Marabia, because he saw there several Moorish ships, in order to get a mast from them. He sent on shore to search for one, and at once the Moors gave him one such

[1] Barros and Osorio do not mention these attacks on Onor and Baticala. The attack on Baticala appears not to have had the shadow of a pretext for it, and to have been nothing but piracy. With regard to the pretext for the attack on Onor, it is difficult to distinguish between the conduct of the Portuguese and that of Timoja, who appears from other mention of him to have levied tolls on ships that passed by Onor. The following passage of Defoe describes the conduct of Gama at Onor:—"For, be it known to you, seignior, those captains of English and Dutch ships are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to justice, nor how to behave themselves as the laws of God or nature direct; but being proud of their offices, and not understanding their power, they would *act the murderers to punish robbers*, would take upon them to insult men falsely accused, and determine them guilty without due inquiry; and perhaps I may live to call some of them to an account for it, where they may be taught how justice is to be executed, and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal till some evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man."

as was fitting, and the captain-major ordered its owner to be well paid for it, so that the ship was well remasted with the labour of many workmen in a few days. Whilst they were at this work, one day at dawn there came a large ship of Calecut which came from Mekkah with much wealth, and it fell in with the caravels, which were on the watch out at sea. In this ship came the owner, who was the chief merchant and the richest in Calecnt, and the ship was coming from the offing to make Monnt Dely. The caravels went to it, and made it come and anchor close to the captain-major, who, on learning that it was from Calecut, ordered the men to go and pillage it. The crews went to do this in boats, and the whole day were carrying cargo to the ships, until the ship was empty, and the captain-major prohibited anyone from taking out of it any Moor, and then he ordered them to set fire to the ship. When the captain of the ship saw this, he called out that he should be taken before the captain-major, because that was very expedient. They told this to the captain-major, who ordered him to come. When he was in the presence of the captain-major, he said to him: "Sir, you gain nothing by ordering us to be killed. Command that we be pnt in irons, and carry us to Calecut, and if there they do not load your ships with pepper and drugs, without your giving anything for them, then you may order us to be burned. Look that you do not lose so great a sum of wealth for so small a thing as it is to kill us; and consider that in war they pardon those who surrender, and since we did not fight, do you put in practice the virtue of knighthood." The captain-major said to him: "Alive you shall be bnrned, because you counselled the King of Calecut to kill and plunder the factor and Portuguese; and since you are so powerful in Calecut, that yon oblige yourself to give me a cargo gratuitously for these ships, I say that for nothing in this world would I desist from giving you a hundred deaths, if I could give you so many." He then

ordered them to send the Moor back to the ship, and to set fire to it. The captains who were with the captain-major tried to hinder him from it, saying that he ought not to choose to lose so great wealth as the Moor offered, since by killing them vengeance was not taken on Calecut.[1] The captain-major replied: "Gentlemen and friends, I well see all that you say; but all those who covet the property of their enemy and not his death, err against their honour and their life; and he who spares his enemy dies at his hands (say the old women); and if you look well to reason, without bearing in mind what the Moor promises, you will go yourselves to light the fire. If this bribe were for us, and we had to live in India, well might we take the risk which might happen later, which would be great evils and deaths which we should suffer; for since this Moor is so powerful that he gives so large a ransom for his life, he will not want power later to take vengeance of the Portuguese. So that it is clear that if we now take this bribe, those who come here afterwards will pay it doubly. We should give a great account to God if we left such a charge upon them, because this Moor who is so powerful will not want afterwards for supporters in as many Moors as there are in India. Therefore, know, that this enemy shall not remain alive, to assure my conscience; for we have gained nothing in this country by arms, only by friendly methods we have obtained that these people receive us. Calecut has offended us greatly, and deserves that we should do it every injury; and if for this bribe we were to set free its Moors, we should retain the ill-fame throughout these parts of selling our honour for goods, and Calecut, without fear, would offend us every day: therefore, if I can do harm to anything belonging to it, I must do it." He then ordered them to set fire to the ship, and as the Portuguese were going out who still

[1] Though the arguments of the captains were base, yet they left the whole of this crime upon the head of Vasco da Gama.

went about the ship looking for plunder, the Moors took up those arms which our men had not yet taken away, and set to fighting with our men like men condemned to death, and killed some and wounded others, so that they made them spring into the sea, as they were unarmed. The Moors cut their ship's cable to go ashore, or against some ship, in which they might sell their lives dearly: the boats with armed men crowded up, and the Moors, who were more than seven hundred, made a great resistance, for they were valiant warriors, who did not hesitate to give up their lives to the sword, sooner than to the tortures of fire.

Francisco Marecos, seeing the ship of the Moors come close to his ship, ordered a rope to be passed to it, and brought it close to his ship; at which the Moors were delighted, for they boarded his ship intrepidly, and fought so valiantly that without doubt they would have taken the ship, if the boats had not crowded up with many men, who killed all the Moors. The captain-major came up in his small boat, and ordered all his men to come out of the ship, and he ordered the boats to sink her with the falconnets and swivel-guns which they carried. This was done accordingly, and the Moors were left swimming, and the boats plied about killing them with lances. Here it happened that a Moor who was swimming found a lance floating in the water, and took it, and raising himself in the water as much as he could, hurled the lance into a boat, and with it transfixed a sailor and killed him; and as this seemed to me to be a great thing, I have written it.[1]

[1] Barros, Osorio, and San Roman mention this butchery as having happened at the same time and place as that mentioned by Correa, but without any word of disapprobation. Camoens has passed over this exploit in silence, apparently not thinking that it added to the glory of Gama. Osorio makes it more unjustifiable, since he states that the vessel belonged to the Sultan of Egypt, not to Calecut, and was returning from Calecut to the Red Sea: he says the fight lasted until the next day, though the whole fleet was engaged with this single vessel, and

The factor and several men of Cananor had now come to the captain-major, and related to him the great benefits

that the Portuguese killed three hundred men, sparing only a few children, and set fire to the ship after plundering it.

San Roman, like Osorio, says the ship was going to, not coming from, the Red Sea, and says less of the fight than of the children who were spared and baptised, and offered to the monastery of Belem, where they might perpetually serve the Queen of the Angels.

Barros gives a more circumstantial account, and says that the Zamorim sent to complain to Gama, while he was at anchor near Mount Dely, of his ill-treatment of the affairs of Calecut, and that he desired to establish peace with him. Gama sent an answer, that he had not yet inflicted on Calecut an injury equal to that which had been committed by the killing and robbery of the Portuguese, and until he had compensation for that, he only fulfilled the orders of the King D. Manuel; and this news might be given to the Zamorim until he sent him more about the Mekkah ships which he was waiting for: and the first would be the one named *Merim*, so much expected by all. After a few days, a ship which he expected fell into his hands. He had news of it by the questions which he put to the Malabar Moors; and as they told him this ship belonged to the Sultan of Cairo, and her captain and factor was a Moor named Joar Fiquim, who had sailed from Calecut laden with spices, and as it was a large and safe ship many honourable Moors had gone in it in pilgrimage to their abomination of Mekkah, and the ship was returning with these pilgrims, and was also laden with much wealth. The admiral, when he saw that the ship of Captain Gil Matoso held her surrendered, as he had first fallen in with her almost in sight of all the fleet (Barros has before stated that the fleet was stretched out from the coast seawards to intercept any passing ships), got into his long-boat with the factor Diogo Fernandes Correa, Diogo Godinho and Diogo Lopes, clerks, and went to the ship of Gil Matoso, because the wind had fallen calm, and he could not come to him. When he reached the ship he sent for the captain of the ship by his boat, and for the principal merchants, to whom he put some questions, amongst which was the amount of capital which they brought to lay out in spices; and speaking lightly without putting much pressure upon them, he told them to return to the ship and bring to him the things of small volume which they had brought for these purchases. The Moors being of opinion that this was a polite way the captain had of begging something of them, settled that they had acted wisely in surrendering to the ship, because they would finish the matter with a present which they would take to the captain-major: for had they presumed what afterwards happened, their surrender would have cost dear. Finally, they returned before the

which the King of Cananor conferred upon them, and how the King of Calecut was fighting with the King of Cochym

admiral with a sum of money in gold coin, and some wrought silver, brocades, and silks, all which might be worth as much as twelve thousaud cruzados; the admiral ordered it all to be delivered over to the factor, and that they should return to their ship, and the next day he would dismiss them, as it was very late. When it was morning, and the ships of the fleet were already close round the Moorish ship, for all were ready in expectation, the admiral went on board of her with some other persons, and ordered them to bring up more goods on deck and deliver them to Diogo Fernandes; and after that by this means he could get no more from the Moors, he returned to his ship the *S. Jeronymo*. He came and placed his ship alongside the Moorish ship, and ordered all the goods which it carried to be discharged into his ship; by accident a servant of the admiral got squeezed between the sides of the ships, of which he died; the admiral was so grieved that he removed his ship, and ordered Estevan da Gama and the factor Diogo Fernandes Correa to take the Moorish ship further out to sea, so as not to be in the way of onr ships, and after they had discharged all the cargo which it carried, to set fire to it. There were in this ship about two hundred and sixty fighting men, and more than fifty women and children. These Moors, as long as the Portuguese took away their goods and arms, seeing so many ships all round them, endured what had been done to them np to that time; but when they saw that our ships' boats were surrounding and setting fire to them, which was danger to life, and not damage of property, they determined to die like knights with some arms which they had concealed, and by throwing stones they made the boats keep off. At this time one of our ships, which cruised on the watch for other ships, came to speak the flag-ship, and when it saw the boats going ronnd the ship, it went and attacked it. As the ship was small and the Moorish ship very large, and the Moors made now no account of their lives, but wished to die avenged, when the ship came alongside they sprung into the castle in the prow, attacking our men so closely that they made them take shelter in the sterncastle, and they wounded many, and killed three or four. In this boarding they obtained a few arms from our men, who were badly wounded; their fury was so lively that the ship nearly fell into their power. But the ship *Julioa*, Captain Lopo Mendes de Vasconcellos, came up, so that the Moors got back to their ship, and thinking that the ship of Lopo Mendes was grappling them, as it passed by, they threw into it a shower of stones, which slightly wounded many men. The admiral, who was at a distance, seeing how this ship warded off those that came alongside of her, had himself conveyed to the ship *S. Gabriel* of Gil Matoso, and on

to make him deliver up the Portuguese. There also arrived a message and complimentary visit on the part of the King of Cananor: and as the ship was now completely equipped, the captain-major set sail, and went to the port of Cananor, where he made a great salute of artillery. There the cap-

reaching her, he found that D. Luis Coutinho had grappled her with his ship, the *Lionarda*, to which he passed, where they fought so much with the Moorish ship that many men were killed, until the night separated the combatants. When the next day came, even though with much labour and danger to our men, by dint of fire they made an end of the Moorish ship: and out of this fire the admiral ordered the lives to be spared and to be picked up only twenty and odd children and a humpbacked Moor, who was the pilot; these children he ordered to be made Christians. Because Antonio da Sá, a page of D. Manuel, was the first who had entered this ship, and had acted as became him, he made him a knight.

Correa says nothing of these twenty children who were spared: further on he says the ship belonged to the brother of Coja Kasim of Calecut; but what would rather confirm the statements of Osorio and Barros of her belonging to the Sultan of Egypt, is the embassy a little later by the Sultan of Egypt to the Pope to complain of this and other piratical acts of the Portuguese. (See Barros, Osorio, and De Morga, *Philippine Islands*, Hakluyt Society.)

The act for which Gama took this vengeance was the attack upon the factory and killing of Aires Correa the factor and some of his men. This had been done by one of two factions in Calecut, that of the foreign Moors under Coja Kasim and the Gentiles, in opposition to the Malabar Moors under Coja Beguy, who, after Aires Correa had been killed, saved the lives of the sons of Aires Correa, and of three wounded Portuguese, whom he concealed in his harem. The cause of the outbreak had been various piratical acts of the Portuguese, capturing and sinking Indian ships under the pretext that the King of Portugal was lord of the sea and of the land. For the death of Aires Correa vengeance had already been taken by Pedralvares Cabral, who had burned all the ships and sambuks in the port of Calecut, after which he had bombarded the town, and, according to Correa, made a great destruction of people: Pedralvares Cabral wished to continue this for several days, but the masters of the ships did not consent, on account of the injury which the firing did to the Portuguese ships. Barros says he burned fifteen sail, amongst which were eight large ships, and bombarded the city for the whole of the two next days, damaging it much and killing more than five hundred persons.

tain Ruy de Mendanha came to the captain-major, who shewed him great honour, because the factor and all the others had spoken very well of him. The King's minister came immediately, with a message to the captain-major to come on shore and rest, and they would both talk of many matters, which were very necessary. The captain-major sent his thanks, and to say that whatever day his highness named he would go on shore to visit him, and serve him in whatever he might command; but that he could not go ashore to rest, for his rest was at sea, since he was now so much accustomed to being at sea, and at the present time much less, since he had to go to Calecut to take a present to the King for the good reception he had given to Pedralvarez Cabral.

When the King heard the captain-major's reply, he ordered a wooden honse to be built close to the palisade, in which to have an interview with the captain-major, and sent to tell him that he had now a house ready in which to see him whenever he pleased. The captain-major, with his men gaily dressed, immediately came from the fleet, with all the boats and banners and many trumpets and kettledrums, and a salute of artillery, and landed at the town and went to prayers in the church, and heard mass.

CHAPTER VII.

How the captain-major saw the King of Cananor, and of the settlement and agreement which he made with him in matters which were fitting; and how he directed the fleet to go along the coast, and departed for Calecut.

When the King knew that the captain-major was on shore, he got ready, and in the afternoon came to the house, accompanied by his people, with great pomp, according to his fashion, and entered the house.[1] The captain-major came accompanied also by his captains and many people, all richly and gaily dressed, with his trumpets and kettle-drums before him, which the King was pleased to hear, as it seemed a matter of greater state. When the captain-major came near the house, at the distance of a game of mancal[2], the King came out, accompanied by his ministers, and before him his prince, whom he brought for the captain-major to see; he was his nephew, the son of his eldest sister, who, according to their usages, was his direct heir. He was a youth, and a courtly person, well made, with his sword and shield in his hands, which it is their custom to carry till their death.

When the King came up, the captain-major made him a profound salutation, almost with his knee on the ground, with as much shew of respect as though he had been the King of Portugal. The King took his right hand between his, which is the greatest courtesy and honour which he could shew him. Leading him thus by the hand, he went

[1] Barros mentions the interview as taking place on a scaffolding on the seaside, and that the King of Cananor came with elephants, and as many as four thousand Nair swordsmen.

[2] It is not known what this game of mancal was; it was already ancient in the reign of D. Manuel.

into the house to sit down on the dais, seating the captain-major close to him. He, before sitting down, made a great salutation to the prince, who putting his sword under his arm, touched the captain-major's right hand with his. The King then spoke, and inquired of the health of the King, and of the Queen, and of their children and of the kingdom The captain-major replied to all this as was fitting, with a great abundance of compliments, and kissing a letter which he brought from the King of Portugal, he gave it him with great courtesy. The King was much pleased at this, for it seemed to him very good that he kissed the letter, and his people also extolled the act. The King put the letter inside the cloth which he had wrapped round him, and they fell into conversation upon things that had passed, and upon the injuries of Calecut, to which the captain-major had to do as much harm as he could, and he would have ships upon his coast to destroy as much as possible in his ports, and nothing of his should go upon the sea. Therefore the King should order the merchants not to hold dealings with those of Calecut, so that they should not be losers with them. The King showed much satisfaction at all this, and said that he would assist in all, and would act as if these were the affairs of his own brother, for so he had decided in his heart in behalf of the King of Portugal, and all who should descend from him, and this he swore upon his head, and his eyes, and by his mother's womb which had borne him, and by the prince his heir; and swearing thus he touched everything with his hand. Whilst he spoke thus, the prince was all the time standing before the King, without ever speaking.

The captain-major made many compliments of friendship to the King on the part of the King his sovereign, saying that Kings and great princes of royal blood used to do so amongst one another; and that they had a sincere affection for one another, and especially good faith, which was their

greatest ornament, and was of more value than their kingdoms. The captain-major then presented to him what the King of Portugal had sent for him, which was six pieces of satin and coloured velvets, a piece of brocade, an arm-chair with cushions of brocade, and a sword of gold and enamel, made after their fashion, with which the King felt much satisfaction, and was for some time looking at the enamels, and asked what work it was. The captain-major told him that it was wrought with the gems which they had carried from India, which the goldsmiths knew how to work. The King ordered everything to be gathered up, and gave the captain-major a necklace and two bracelets and ten rings, all of much price, for the Queen, and other rich jewels for himself; upon which they took leave of one another. The captain-major returned to the town, and at once got into the boats and went to the ships, going in his boat with a canopy of crimson satin fringed with gold, and above the canopy the royal standard of white damask with the cross of Christus, embroidered with gold thread. The captain-major went first and the other boats behind to show him respect; and on reaching the ships, they fired a salute of much artillery, and the King, who remained looking on from the beach, was pleased with the sight.

The captain-major brought instructions that here, and in all parts where there were dealings of buying and selling, he was to establish the prices of all things, so that they should be fixed, and that there should never be novelties of lowering or raising the prices, which he was to do with the good pleasure of the King and of the merchants. For which reason, having obtained information of the weights and prices of each article, both for selling and buying, with the counsel of the factor and of the interpreter, he made a minute of all, as it seemed to him just and right. Then he sent to tell the King that he had to speak to him of things that were necessary, and to ask him to give him a day on

which to go to his house, because after that he wished to depart. The King sent to say that he should not come to his house, which was far off, but that he would come, as he had come the other day, to the same building as at first, with his state. The captain-major immediately came from the sea in the boats, and went to the house, where they received him with their courtesies. He then spoke of what he desired—that there should be established prices for everything, which should last for ever, so that there should not be differences and novelties. This appeared very good to the King, and he summoned some principal merchants, natives of the country, and foreigners, who all spoke and conversed upon all the prices and weights of the merchandise, and all was written down by their scribes; and for everything a settlement was made upon the full value which things had anciently in the country, both of their commodities and ours, with the prices and weights of all, in very good order. Of this they drew up documents, signed by all, that everything should thus be bought and weighed in purchases and sales. The captain-major also signed it, and the factor and Cananor ministers took away a copy. This remained firm, and is so still at the present day, and will remain so as long as God pleases. The captain-major made many recommendations to the King with respect to ginger, as he had many ships to load. The King took charge of this, and begged the captain-major to avoid as much as possible fighting with the Calecut fleet if it came to seek him, since it did not come except with stratagems of fire. The captain-major said that he should do all the harm he could to Calecut, and if its fleet came to seek him he should be delighted, because he hoped in the Lord that he should take some vengeance upon it such as he was desirous of; upon which he took his leave with his salutations.

When he got back to the ships, he took counsel with the captains, and settled to divide the fleet, which was always to

cruise along the coast, making war on all navigators, only excepting those of Cananor, Cochym, and Coulam, because those of Cananor were to carry a certificate signed by the factor, upon the King's giving them his document, since the factor did not know them. The same was to be done by those of Cochym; and those of Coulam would send to Cochym to obtain their certificate, which they call a cartaz. All this the factor went to notify to the King, with which he was well pleased.

Then the captain-major made Vicente Sodré captain-major of the fleet which he was going to leave behind when he went away; and he made Gonzalo Gil Barbosa, who was in Cochym, factor, because Diogo Fernandez Correa came appointed as factor at Cochym; and he left him at once at Cananor much goods to deal in ginger, which the Gozil was to have sent to the factory, as the King had commanded; also that ten Nairs should always accompany the factor as a guard all day, and to go with his messages wherever he sent them; also one of the King's scribes to be always with the factor to read and write all the documents, which had to be done by a scribe appointed by the King, who would not commit any forgery. The factor was to give to the Gozil, in order that he should take good care of the ginger, ten ells of crimson velvet for each cargo, and to the scribes ten fanaos a month,—a fanao is a coin of inferior gold, and fourteen of them are worth three hundred reis; and to the Nairs of the guard five fanaos to each. All this the factor was to pay each month, for so the King ordained, so that the factor might go securely wherever he pleased by day or by night; because these Nairs are gentlemen by lineage, and by their law they are bound to die for whoever gives them pay, they and all their lineage; and if those of one lineage live with separate masters, and one of them has a dispute with the other, and they fight, these servants of theirs will fight and kill one another like mortal enemies, for they are bound to

do it; and when the struggle is finished, they will speak and communicate with one another as if they had never fought. The captain-major appointed as almoxarife of the warehouse and provisions Fernan Lopes, because the factor could not attend to all the work; and Gomez Ferreira, who was factor, as there came another one, he appointed to be captain of a caravel, and Ruy de Mendanha captain of another. He left instructions to the factor to buy and gather into the warehouse for the voyage to the kingdom much rice, sugar, honey, butter, oil, cocoa-nuts, and dried fish, and to make cables of coir and cordage, for which purpose he left there many workmen who came in the fleet, and this was the best provision made for the ships of burden; and afterwards they were always made for a long time, because they were much better than the cables of flax, which burst with a strain, and the coir yields and stretches, and the strain being removed, it returns to its former state. The natives of the country were much pleased at all this, on account of the profits which they made; only the Moors were sad, because they saw that our men were preparing to prevent the navigation which they carried on to the Straits, laden with pepper and drugs, from which they derived so great profits, all which they now lost; and for this they were altogether desperate, because the soothsayers with whom they sometimes spoke told them that the power of the King of Portugal would constantly increase.

When everything was thus arranged, the captain-major sent word of it to the King by the factor, at which he felt great pleasure, seeing the great confidence with which our men relied upon his friendship, and established themselves in his country more than in any other part; on which account he held himself to be a much greater King than he was, which he frequently spoke of to his people.[1] The

[1] Barros gives a different account of the dealings with the King of Cananor; he says that, at the interview between the King of Cananor

captain-major, leaving everything thus well ordained, sent to take leave of the King, and departed for Calecut.

CHAPTER VIII.

How the captain-major with all the fleet arrived before the city of Calecut, and of the damage and destruction which was done to it, and of the case of a miracle which happened.

The captain-major, on arriving at Calecut, was in a passion because he found the port cleared, and in it there was nothing to which he could do harm, because the Moors, knowing of his coming, had all fled, and hid their vessels

and Gama on his first arrival, nothing was settled as to trade: the King was an old man of seventy, and he excused himself on the ground of his requiring rest, and retired, saying he would send his officers and the principal merchants to settle trade so that his brother the King of Portugal should be served. When this interview had taken place, Gama wrote to the Zamorim to confound his designs, and told him how he had burned the Sultan's ship *Merim*, and that the Moor who carried the letter and was her pilot would give him an account of it; and in case he did not give him all the details, he informed him that of two hundred and sixty men that were in the *Merim* he had only spared the life of this man and of twenty and odd children: these men were killed towards the account of the forty and odd Portuguese who were killed in Calecut, and the children were baptised on account of a boy whom the Moors had carried away to make a Moor of him. This was a sample of the method of the Portuguese in taking compensation for any injury they received, but that more would be taken in his own city of Calecut, where he hoped to come very soon. This letter was given to the Moor, and he was carried by Pedraffonso d'Aguiar, captain of the *S. Pantaliam*, who set him down at Pandarane, near Calecut. The next day, when the King of Cananor had said he would send people to settle the trade, there came four chief men of the country, two Moors and two Gentiles. They began to speak of trade and prices, and Gama found much difference between their words and those of the King; they said that the King had not got any spices, but only the duties on them, all the rest belonged to the merchants who traded in them; and that the King could not put prices on other men's property, still less the prices they

and sambuks in the rivers; for they knew what the captain-major had done at Onor and Batticala, and what he had done

named, at which Joan da Nova had taken cargo and Aires Correa had got them in Calecut before the rising and outbreak. Although the admiral replied, always repeating that the spices were to be given to him at the same prices at which they had been given to the Moors of Mekkah,* these Moors took leave of him, saying that they would give an account of this to the King. After this, Gama, seeing that nothing was conclnded, and that the King was two leagues off, as the sea did not agree with his indisposition, sent to him Antonio de Sá with three or four men, and a minute, reqnesting that the King would decide matters in that form. In answer to this, Antonio de Sá brought word that since the admiral was not satisfied with the prices and manner in which spices would be given him, he might go to Cochym, and according to the terms he got there, such would the merchants of Cananor give. The admiral was so indignant at this answer that he summoned Payo Rodrigues and those who remained with him, telling them to get on board, whilst he sent to take leave of the King in such words, that it was not convenient that any Portuguese should remain there. Payo Rodrigues, seeing the determination of the admiral, requested him to allow him to be the bearer of the letter, provided that it was in moderate terms, because in that manner he hoped to obtain some good conclusion, as he knew the manner of negotiating with those people. As the admiral thought much time would not be lost in trying the King again, he sent Payo Rodrigues to him, to complain of his change of mind, and saying that as the Moors of Cananor had so much power over his will as to be able to change it, he would next morning remove from there to Cochym, where there was a King of much good faith, who took more account of the Portuguese than of the Moors: that he left there a caravel to take up his messenger and the rest of his company, and he gave him to understand that wherever he found Moors of Cananor he would treat them like those of Calecut, and he held as cancelled the safe-conducts which he had already given them to allow them to navigate, because people who disturbed the peace and concord did not deserve that anyone should keep it with them. With this message he sent Payo Rodrigues, and set sail before morning, leaving at Cananor Vicente Sodré in his ship, and a caravel to pick up Payo Rodrigues. In the next chapter (the fifth) Barros says a servant of Payo Rodrigues overtook Gama on his way to Calecut with the news that the King had accepted Gama's conditions,

* That is to say, taking no account of the rise in prices, now that the number of purchasers had increased.

to the ship Mount Dely, which belonged to a brother of Coja Casem, the factor of the sea of the King of Calecut. The King of Calecut thought that he might gain time,[1] so that

and that Vicente Sodré would bring a document of it signed by the King. In the sixth chapter, he says that the King settled the matter with the merchants by promising to refund to them the difference between the prices, and those fixed by the admiral, out of his dues, as he valued the friendship of the Portuguese more than the increase of his revenue.

[1] Barros says that the King of Calecut sent four messages to Gama when he was on his way to Calecut, to obtain peace: the last was sent when Gama was two leagues from Calecut. On this occasion he replied to the admiral's requisitions that with respect to payment for the goods which the Portuguese lost in the outbreak and attack by the people of Calecut on the factory on account of the outrages which the Portuguese themselves had committed, that the admiral ought to content himself with the capture of the Mekkah ship, which amounted to more value than the goods which Pedralvares had lost. That if they were to sum up losses and damage and deaths on both sides, he the Zamorim was the one most offended; and since he did not make demands for restitution of these things, though much required by the clamours of his people to give them compensation for the evils they had suffered from the Portuguese, and as he dissembled with this clamour from his desire for peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, he, the admiral, ought not to make claims for past matters, and ought to content himself with coming to the city of Calecut, where he would find the spices he wanted. With respect to what the admiral said of his expelling from his kingdom all the Moors of Cairo and Mekkah, he gave no reply, as it was an impossible thing to expel more than four thousand families of them, who lived in the city not like foreigners, but as natives, and from whom his kingdom had received much profit. That if the admiral, without these so impossible conditions which he had laid down, would establish peace and trade, he would be happy to do so. When the admiral heard words so different from what he had previously heard from the Zamorim, as he held them for an affront, he did not reply, except that he would bring his own answer; and the messengers had hardly returned to the Zamorim when he had anchored before the city of Calecut. Barros goes on to say that Gama had captured several Malabar men to serve as messengers to the Zamorim, and that that night the Zamorim sent a Brahman to complain of this, saying that these men had no part in the hatred of Gama against the Moors, and repeating that Gama had caused more loss to Calecut than Calecut to him, and that one loss should stand for the other. The admiral, who was already indignant, became still more enraged, and the Brahman ran away more afraid than he came.

the captain-major should not do him harm; and when his fleet arrived he sent him a Brahman of his in a boat with a white cloth fastened to a pole, as a sign of peace. This Brahman came dressed in the habit of a friar, one of those who had been killed in the country; and on reaching the ship, he asked for a safe conduct to enter. When it was known that he was not a friar,—for the captain-major and everyone had been joyful, thinking that he was one of our friars,—seeing that he was not, the captain-major gave him a safe conduct, and bade him enter the ship. He said to the captain-major: "Sir, I clothed myself with this habit that they might not drive me away from the ships, and that I might come and give you a good message;[1] for the King sends to tell you that he will send you here, where you are, twelve Moors, whom he has arrested for some time since, who were the chief men who induced him to make the great mistakes which he made, by which he is so dishonoured; and with the Moors he sends you twenty thousand cruzados, which he took from them, for payment of the goods which were plundered in the factory: and this he does only for his honour's sake; and with you he wishes for neither peace nor war; and, if you please, he will immediately send these, as soon as your answer arrives." The captain-major was greatly enraged, for he understood the evil; but he dissembled, and ordered the Brahman to write the reply, as he had brought palm-leaves for that purpose; and the captain-major drew up a document for the King, and sent to tell him that he greatly rejoiced that he recognised the fault which he had committed; and that since he did justice on those who had made him do it, he thus acted like a good King, and that he would take what he sent him; that with respect to the Moors, he grieved that they were few out of

[1] Osorio mentions the messenger coming in the habit of a Franciscan, for the reason mentioned in the text, but he calls him an Arab instead of a Brahman.

the many who had done the evil, and that he would be better pleased with them than with the money, for at Mount Dely he had burned a few of them, who had offered him so much money as ransom, as he (the King of Calecut) already knew; and this was his answer, and that the King might do as he pleased: for his friar whom he had sent would remain waiting until his answer returned. Upon this he sent away the Indian boat, and ordered the friar to be well secured.

Next day the King sent to say, by the same boat, that the Moors whom he had got to send offered for themselves twenty thousand pardaos more, if he pleased that he should send them. The captain-major did not choose to answer, because he was losing time. He then ordered all the fleet to draw in close to the shore, and all day, till night, he bombarded the city, by which he made a great destruction;[1] and he did not choose to fire more, on account of the damage received thereby by the ships which had to return to the kingdom. Then he stood out to sea, and ordered Vicente Sodré to remain before Calecut in a small ship of Diogo Fernandes Correa; and Bras Sodré, his brother, in the small ship of Ruy da Cunha; and in another small ship of Joan Fernandes de Mello he put Pero d'Ataide, his relation, and Joan Rodrigues Badarças, Antao Vaz, and Antonio Fernandes Roxo, with three caravels. In these six sail he put as many as two hundred men, amongst whom were many cross-bow men,—for at that time there were not yet any firelocks,—and he gave them more artillery and munitions. Whilst they were doing this business, there came in from the offing two large ships, and twenty-two

[1] Barros says the Zamorim had put along the front of the city a stockade of thick palm trees since Cabral had bombarded, for which reason Gama sent all the smaller vessels close in shore, whence they could reach the town: he says the bombardment caused great destruction, and killed many people. Osorio says the same, and adds that the palace near the shore was destroyed.

sambuks and Malabar vessels,[1] which came from Coromandel laden with rice, which the Moors of Calecut had ordered to be laden there, as its price there was very cheap, and they gained much by it; and they came to fetch the port, thinking that our ships, if they had come, would already be at Cochym, and not at Calecut; but our fleet having sighted them, the caravels went to them, and the Moors could not fly, as they were laden, and the caravels brought them to the captain-major, and all struck their sails. Six nakhodas of the sambuks then came to the captain-major, saying they were from Cananor, and mentioned the names of the factor and of Ruy de Mendanha, and other Portuguese, at which the captain-major was pleased. He then ordered the boats to go and plunder the small vessels, which were sixteen, and the two ships, in which they found rice, and many jars of butter, and many bales of stuffs. They then gathered all this together into the ships, with the crews of the two large ships, and he ordered the boats to get as much rice as they wanted, and they took that of four of the small vessels, which they emptied, for they did not want more. Then the captain-major commanded them to cut off the hands and ears and noses of all the crews, and put all that into one of the small vessels, into which he ordered them to put the friar, also without ears, or nose, or hands, which he ordered to be strung round his neck,[2] with a palm-leaf for the King, on which he told him to have a curry made to eat of what his friar brought him. When all the Indians had been thus executed, he ordered their feet to be tied together, as they had no hands with which to untie them: and in order that they should not untie them with their teeth, he ordered them to strike upon their teeth with staves, and they knocked them down their throats; and they were thus put on board, heaped up upon the top of

[1] *Pager* or *paquel*, a small vessel of Malabar.

[2] The admiral had given this man a safe-conduct. See above.

each other, mixed up with the blood which streamed from them; and he ordered mats and dry leaves to be spread over them, and the sails to be set for the shore, and the vessel set on fire: and there were more than eight hundred Moors; and the small vessel with the friar, with all the hands and ears, was also sent on shore under sail, without being fired. These vessels went at once on shore, where many people flocked together to put out the fire, and draw out those whom they found alive, upon which they made great lamentations.

The friar went to the King's presence, with the wives and relations of the dead, to make clamour for the so great evil of which he was the cause. The King soothed them, taking great oaths that he would expend the whole of his kingdom in avenging them. But as he was a tyrant, in order not to expend his own property, he summoned before him the principal Moors of the city, and said to them, that they well saw the great dishonour which had been done him, which was through his taking their counsel, and that, besides his dishonour, his heart grieved at the cries and lamentations of the women and people, who were relations of the slain; and he made oaths that he would avenge them, and would therefore spend all his treasure for vengeance; that they should therefore take the trouble to make and bring together a fleet throughout all his kingdom, as large as they could, and for all of it he would give pay, at his cost, to the men-at-arms. The Moors, when they heard this, gave him great praises, and offered to spend their lives and properties for vengeance: especially Coja Kasim, who was present, with grief for the death of his brother, who was killed in the ship at Marabia, and they at once elected him to be captain-major. So all set to work with great diligence throughout the kingdom of Calecut, which has many rivers, to construct many armed paraos and large rowing vessels and sambuks, and large ships, decided on fighting with our fleet when it

should come laden, and to board it, and set fire to it with a quantity of dry leaves, which they would carry for that purpose; and having lighted the fire which was to burn our ships and theirs, they would throw themselves into the sea, and escape by swimming in the boats which they would take equipped for that purpose. So they made a very great fleet, with which they went out to fight ours, as I will relate further on.

The captain-major ordered Vicente Sodré to return to Cananor with his fleet, and to take there the two ships and the six small vessels; and if they belonged to Cananor, as they said, and if the King said so too, he was to let them go; and from the ships and twelve small vessels of Calecut the factor was to collect as much rice as he could, and the butter, and what had remained over in the ships and small vessels, and give it all to the King; and that the Indians might relate what they saw done to those of Calecut, which being related by them caused great dread amongst the people, who praised the King for the good peace which he had established with the Portuguese, by which they were free from such great evils. The captain-major also ordered Vicente Sodré that after leaving the small vessels at Cananor, he was to return at once and go to Cochym, doing all the damage which he could.[1] Vicente Sodré then went to Cananor, and the captain-major sailed for Cochym.

In this occurrence with these Malabar vessels, there happened a case which it seemed to me, in reason, ought not to be forgotten. There came in these vessels of Moors of Choromandel, natives of the country, who, seeing the executions which were being carried out,—for they hung up some men by the feet in the vessels which were sent ashore, and when thus hung up the captain-major ordered the cross-bow men to shoot arrows into them, that the people on shore

[1] Osorio says that after the bombardment of Calecut, Gama went to Cochym, and left Vicente Sodré with six ships to infest all the coast.

might see it; and when it was intended to do the same to these men of Choromandel, they called out that they should make them Christians, naming Thomas, who had been in their country; and they shouted this out, and raised their hands to heaven.[1] This, from pity, was repeated to the captain-major, who ordered them to be told, that even though they became Christians, that still he would kill them. They answered, that they did not beg for life, but only to be made Christians. Then, by order of the captain-major, a priest gave them holy baptism. They were three, who entreated the priest, saying that they wished for once only to say our prayer; and the priest said the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*, which they also repeated. When this was finished, then they hung them up strangled, that they might not feel the arrows. The cross-bow men shot arrows and transfixed the others; but the arrows which struck these did not go into them nor make any mark upon them, but fell down. This having been seen, in the case of many arrows which they shot at them to confirm themselves,—for it was always so,—and no arrow wounded them, it was told to the captain-major, and grieved him much; and he ordered them to be shrouded and put into baskets; and the priest commended them with his psalms for the dead, and they cast them into the sea, all saying prayers for their souls, as for faithful Christians, which the Lord was pleased of His great mercy to show in those who were Gentiles, who went in the company of the Moors gaining their livelihood.[2]

[1] These men probably were Christians of St. Thomas.

[2] Barros says, after describing the bombardment of Calecut, "when it was evening, to take leave of them, and for greater terror, the admiral ordered them to cut off from those who had been executed, who were thirty-two, the heads, hands, and feet, and they were put into a boat with a letter, which said that if these men who were not the same who were at the death of the Portuguese, but only for being of kin with the dwellers in Calecut, had received that chastisement, the authors of that treachery might expect another more cruel kind of death. This

CHAPTER IX.

How the fleet sailed for Cochym, and Vicente Sodre with his fleet returned to Cananor with the Malabar vessels laden with rice, and of what he did to a Moor who had gone away without paying the duties to the King of Cananor.

WHILST the captain-major was setting sail for Cochym, and Vicente Sodré was already under sail, there arrived with great haste an Indian boat with a letter from the King of Cananor, in which he complained to him that a great Moor had laden in his ports with other Moors eight ships, with which they had gone away without paying him much money which they owed of the duties, and to the owners of the goods, with many other offences which they had committed in the country, of robbery and violence, the Moor saying that he was afraid of nobody; and he had gone out of the port from which he had taken his three ships. The captain-major, on seeing the letter, without delay sent the Indian boat after Vicente Sodré, who was still in sight, and in it he sent one of his men to tell Vicente Sodré not to delay, and to attend to this. The Indian boat, with sail and oars, overhauled Vicente Sodré, and gave him the message. He

boat was sent with one André Dias, who was afterwards almoxarife of the warehouse in the kingdom. The admiral ordered the trunks of the bodies belonging to these limbs to be cast into the sea when the tide was rising, so that they might go ashore in sight of the people, for them to see how much was the cost of treachery against the Portuguese, and how much any damage done to them would be avenged." This struck such terror into the city that the Gentiles abandoned it, and the Moors to whom the guard of the sea front was confided did not venture to show themselves, and the admiral might have sacked the city easily. Two days after the bombardment, Gama took the provisions out of a ship which he had captured here, and set fire to it before the city, and then sailed for Cochym. Osorio does not mention the bombardment of Calecut.

on the next day with the sea-breeze reached Cananor, the Moor being in the offing with his ships in order to depart at night with the land breeze. Vicente Sodré sent by the Indian boat to tell the King that he was there, and the Moor also with his ships, and that if he ordered it, he would there at once send them to the bottom or burn them, and that His Highness should order what he was to do. The King sent him his thanks, and to say that he should neither send the ships to the bottom nor sink them, that they might not say in other countries that the Portuguese burned the ships of merchants in his port, because that would be his dishonour; that it was sufficient for the Moor to see that he was there, and he would pay at once all that he owed. Then Vicente Sodré sent his skiff to tell the Moor to go on shore at once with the merchants and pay to the King all that was owed to him, that since he was an honest merchant he should not act like a thief who went away without paying what he owed; because he was a captain of the King of Portugal, and was not going to consent to injury being done to those who were his friends, as was the King of Cananor, and that he might be sure that if he found he had set sail, that he would follow in search of him as far as Mekkah, and would burn his ships; and that on his arrival here, he had wished to send and burn them, if the King had allowed him to do it, and therefore he had better at once do what he ordered, and go and pay what he owed.

The Moor was much frightened, and went on shore at once in his boat, where he went to make out his accounts with the King's minister and officials, and paid everything without leaving anything owing, of which he took his receipts, uttering much to the dishonour of them and of the King, so he went haughtily to go on board, accompanied by many armed Moors; he then went to Vicente Sodré and shewed him the palm leaf documents, which were certificates that he had paid everything, and Sodré told him that he

might go away and welcome; so he went away and at once set sail, as there was a land breeze, and as it fell calm he again anchored off the shore. The King, on learning the injurious words which the Moor had spoken against him, and against his mother, sent to tell it to Vicente Sodré, who, on hearing of it, sent a boat to tell the Moor to come to where he was when the sea-breeze sprung up, and if he did not wish to come with the ships, it would be sufficient if he came at once in his boat. So the Moor was much disturbed, and not being able to do anything else, got into his boat with twelve or fifteen Moorish merchants, with a bag of money to pay if they demanded more of him, because he did not imagine what was the matter. When he reached Sodré's ship he was intending to go on board; but the captain told him not to come in, as he would go on shore with him to finish paying that which still remained owing; and he left the Moor remaining in the boat in the sun, which was very hot, until he had finished dining. Then he got into his skiff, and the captains also accompanied him in theirs. On reaching the shore he did not ground the boat, which he ordered to be anchored with a grapnel. Then he sent to call the ministers and Gozil, and all the King's officials, who arrived with many people who came to see; and when they came to the waterside, the captain asked them how it was they had let the Moor go away without paying what he owed to the King, which showed that their receipts were false, as they said that he had paid everything and did not owe anything. They said that the Moor had paid what he owed in money, and that they had given their receipts with truth. The captain replied that if the receipts were true, they were false, and were not gentlemen, since they had made the Moor pay the money which he owed, and had not taken payment from him for the injurious words which he had spoken against the King their sovereign, and had suffered a circumcised Moor to speak what he had spoken, and

let him go without paying for it. Then he ordered two Negro sailors to strip the Moor, and tie him to the boat's mast by the waist and feet and neck, and to give him with two tarred ropes so many stripes on the back and stomach, which was very fat, that he remained like dead, for he swooned from the blood which flowed from him. Upon this he ordered him to be unbound, and he remained stretched out, half dead. Then Vicente Sodré said to the other Moors: "Since he was going away like a thief without paying what he owed, and because I made him pay it, he spoke words insulting to the King, who is a brother in affection of the King my Sovereign; and that he may never more speak other such words, I will order him to be chastised on his mouth." Then he ordered them to put dirt into his mouth, and on the top of it a piece of bacon, fastened on, which he sent to fetch for that purpose from the ship, and with his mouth gagged with a short stick, and his hands tied behind him, he ordered the others to take him away and go and embark.

The Moors offered ten thousand pardaos of gold, which were in the bag, if they would not put the dirt in his mouth. This the captain would not take, saying that merchandise was paid for with money, but not so the honour of Kings and of great lords. "And do you relate this, that this Moor may not say that they did it to him without reason, because money pays for merchandise, and blows for words." He ordered them to go away at once, and not to remain longer there; and if he again spoke ill of the King, he would go and seek for him at the end of the world, and would flay him alive, because the Moors were now to worship the friends of the King of Portugal with their heads on the ground. This Moor was a native of Cairo, and carried on a large trade in all the ports of the straits of Mekkah, powerful with much wealth, from the great trade which he had on the coast of Melinde. He was named Cojemamemarcar, who

later did much injury to avenge himself, as I will relate further on.[1]

The King was much pleased with this great satisfaction of his honour, which he held to be greater than any other which he could obtain in the world; and on this account the country people spoke very well of our people, and the Moors were greatly depressed. This was much spoken of through all the coasts of India. When it was related in Cochym, the captain-major and the others were much pleased at it. The King sent to Captain Sodré many thanks and a gratification of a thousand pardaos of gold, and also ordered, that as long as he remained in his port or on shore he should have a gold pardao each day for fowls for his table; and that this pardao should be assigned to as many captains as there might be by sea or land, who acted in his service. This he always continued doing, and those who also descended from him, as it is now at the present day, for all the captains of Cananor receive this pardao of the King's each day for their table. The rice and things of the ships and Malabar vessels were gathered together into large buildings, which were made into a magazine, and there was so much that a great deal remained in superabundance, and the factor distributed it, and gave much to the Nairs, and servants, and labourers who served in the town, and in exchange for it he bought oil and cocoa-nuts, and things for the fleet: and in this he employed another ship, for these ships were very large, and each one carried more than a thousand measures[2] of rice; and as the twelve Malabar vessels remained over, the factor gave them laden, and the

[1] Coja Mehmed Marcar: Marcar is a title or designation of Southern India. Correa relates, in his history of the year 1507, that it was principally owing to his instigation and encouragement that Mir Hussein and the Turkish fleet followed the Portuguese into the river of Chaul, where the action took place in which D. Lorenzo d'Almeida was killed.

[2] *Moyo*, a measure containing sixty *alqueires*, each of which is equal to a peck and three quarts and a pint.

ships empty to the King, for so the captain-major had written him orders. At this the King was much pleased, and, to make rejoicings, ordered one of the laden Malabar vessels to be brought ashore on the beach for the poor women to fetch rice from it; and he sent a guard to prevent any man or boy from taking rice, which was only for the women; upon which the people uttered much praise and good things to the King and to the Portuguese; and Vicente Sodré departed with his fleet to cruise along the coast.

CHAPTER X.

How the fleet reached Cochym, and the captain-major saw the King; and of the great honours which he did him, and of the agreement which he settled with the King for the prices and weights of merchandise, and articles which were to be bought and sold in the factory, to the great satisfaction of the merchants.

The fleet sailed from Calecut to Cochym; the captain-major did as much harm as he could on the way to all that he found at sea, for the armed boats ran along the coast, which was all clear of rocks, and also the caravels. Thus he came to anchor at the bar,[1] where the factor, Gil Fernandez Barbosa, came immediately from the factory, with Lorenzo Moreno, the clerk, and the Portuguese, and the captain-major received them all with honour and satisfaction, and all related to him the many kindnesses of the King of Cochym, and the proofs he had given of good friendship. Immediately after there came a visit which the King sent to the captain-major by one of his Nairs, for which the captain-major sent his best thanks. The factor went on shore and sent pilots for the bar, so the captain-

[1] Barros, Dec. I, lib. vi, cap. v, says Gama arrived at Cochym on the 7th November.

major embarked in the caravels and small vessels and boats, all under sail, with flags and trumpets, and they went up the river in front of the King's palace. The captain-major left in charge and as commander of the ships which remained at the bar Dom Alvaro de Meneses, an honourable gentleman who came in his company, and the captain-major coming to anchor, all the vessels and boats which carried swivel-guns fired a salute, with the clang of trumpets and kettledrums and shouts; and there came a visit from the King by one of his ministers, and as it was late the captain-major slept on board. Next day he went on shore, the King being ready with his state to receive him. The captain-major went out in his boat with his canopy of crimson velvet, very richly dressed, and so also were the captains and all the crews. The King, accompanied by his people, came to the waterside, where the captain-major made great salutations to him. The King took between his hands the right hand of the captain-major and placed it on his breast, which was the greatest honour he could shew him; and so together they went to his palace, the captain-major and his captains and gentlemen shewing him great marks of respect. There the King sat down on his dais in a court, and made the captain-major sit near him, and then made inquiries concerning the health of the King and of the Queen, and their children, according to their custom. To all this the captain-major made replies with courtesy, giving him great praise for having so perfectly kept faith with the King his sovereign, on which account they had become true brothers in affection, and would be so for ever, and those also who descended from him, as he would see by the King of Portugal's letters, which he took out of a wrapper, and kissed, and put into his hand: so that the King's people esteemed that act of kissing the letter as a great courtesy. He presented to the King a goblet with a pedestal, with its lid, which contained two thousand cruzados,

and a piece of brocade, and twenty pieces of velvets, satins, coloured damasks, and a chair covered with brocade, and studded with silver nails, with its cushions to match: all which the King received with much pleasure. He also gave to the King letters from his young Nair who had remained in the kingdom, in which he wrote to him of the great things of Portugal. The King, in speaking of the cargo, told him to be at his ease, as he would give him as much cargo as he might want, and that the factor had already got a large quantity of pepper, but that he ought to use much expedition in taking in his cargo, because he knew of a certainty that the Zamorin was preparing a great fleet to come and fight with him; and therefore it was fitting that he should always keep a good watch in the ships, and that at night the boats, or large Indian boats with full crews, which he would order to be given him, should always watch around the ships, so that they should not come at night to cut the cables, by which means they would be lost on the coast with the wind, for it blew very hard till midnight. The captain-major at all this made great salutations and very complimentary speeches: the Prince then entered, who came from without to see the captain-major. When he entered, with his sword and buckler, he placed himself before the King, with his feet close together, and laid down his buckler against his legs, and put his sword under his arm, and joined his hands together, raising them above his head, and lowered them closed together to his breast. When he entered, the captain-major remained all the time standing, until the Prince had finished his salutation to the King; then he turned towards the captain-major, who saluted him with his knee on the ground. The Prince took his right hand between his, as the King had done, and spoke to him words of friendship. As it was now the dinner hour, the captain-major took leave of the King to return at once to the ships, with which the King was satis-

fied: and when he wished to take leave of the Prince, he went with him down to the beach, where they took leave of one another with their salutations. The captain-major ate in haste, and went to the ships before the sea breeze sprang up. The King sent to the ships which were in the river a great abundance of fresh provisions. The captain-major sent to the factor a handsome sword with an enamelled gold pommel, to give to the Prince; and he was much pleased with it, and always took it with him covered with a silk wrapper, and a page carried it.[1]

[1] Osorio gives a similar account of this interview, and of the good account given of the King by the Portuguese to Gama: the King, he says, gave several gifts for D. Manuel, amongst which were two jewelled bracelets, and one very large precious stone. Barros differs a little; he describes the factor Gonzalo Gil Barbosa as having warned Gama that the King of Cochym was doubtful, and had been invited by the Zamorim to join with him in a league against the Portuguese with the King of Cananor. Upon which Gama sent Vicente Sodre to cruise near Calecut, and came to Cochym. The King of Cochym had not yet seen Gama, and as he knew that a Calecut ship belonging to a Moor of Calecut, named Nine Mercar, was coming into his port, he sent to beg the admiral not to waylay that ship which was coming into his port, although it was from Calecut. The admiral replied that the port was his, and that his ships were there to do what he ordered, which was the chief command he had from his sovereign; therefore that, and all other ships from Calecut, which he pleased, would be treated as his, though they were the greatest enemies of the Portuguese. The King was so pleased with this message that he settled to see the admiral next day, which interview took place like that with the King of Cananor. During that they talked of the prices and trade in spices, and were not well satisfied, so that Gama found the King of Cochym acting like the King of Cananor, and from that believed what the factor had told him. After that, the King, to shew that he acted of his own free will, left all his state, and with only six or seven of his chief men got into a boat and came on board the admiral's caravel whilst it was going down the river, and told Gama that he had seen he was rather dissatisfied, and that this was more because he was difficult to satisfy than that he was unwilling to make concessions, and therefore he came to put himself in his power. When the admiral saw the trust with which he came on board the caravel, and the grace with which he spoke, he thought all this proceeded from the goodness of God, and he thanked the King, and

The captain-major hurried the workmen so that every two days they heeled down a ship, and the caulkers worked by day, and at night the sailors carried the stages to another ship, and when a ship was finished, it at once took in cargo. Thus they loaded five large ships, and six small vessels, little less in size, the captains of which were D. Luis Coutinho, D. Alvaro d'Ataide, Pero Afonso d'Aguiar, Gil Fernandes de Sousa, Alvaro de Sousa, Gil Matoso, Vasco Fernandes Tinoco, Ruy Lorenzo Ravasco, Diogo Fernandes Peteira, and Pero de Mendoça. Gil Fernandes Barbosa, the former factor, had negotiated this cargo, for he had already bought much cargo, and Lorenzo Moreno and Alvaro Vaz de Goes served as clerks, and the factor Diogo Fernandes Correa was present, and made the payments, because he brought all the goods which had come in the fleet; and when the loading the cargo was ended, Gil Fernandes Barbosa went in the ships to be factor at Cananor, as thus it had been appointed by the King. The factory was in some large houses which the King had given for that purpose in the place where later the weighing wharf was made, close to a tank of water. They landed all the merchandise at the factory, which consisted of much cut and branch coral, much copper in pigs and sheets, quicksilver, vermilion, rugs, Flanders brass basins, coloured cloths, scarlet cloths, knives, red barret-caps, mirrors, and coloured silks: and all these things were bought by the Moors who traded in pepper, which they brought from the hills where it grew, by land in Bisnegá, and Balagate, and Cambay, by which they made great profit. Since the captain-major had been much charged by the King to establish the weights and prices of everything, so that they should remain fixed for ever, and should not be raised or lowered, he did not choose to alter anything not to disturb the

they settled the prices of the spices, and made written agreements concerning them, which last till the present day.

taking in cargo, but having now taken in all the pepper, and almost all the drugs, the captain-major who had taken all the information from the factor about the prices and weights which were current in the country, and had made a minute of what could be ameliorated in the matter of buying and selling, asked leave of the King to go and speak to him of things which it was requisite that he should settle with him and his ministers and the merchants. The King ordered that that he should come, whilst the captains and crews remained in the ships, for he was certain that the fleet of Calecut was now ready. The King then ordered that the ships and caravels which were in the river should go out of it, and that the caravels should always cruise along the coast to keep watch: the captain-major gave good instructions with regard to this, and leaving everything well arranged, he went on shore to the factory buildings, where the King was waiting for him, and received him with all honours. The captain-major told him that the King his brother, as he hoped in God that the peace and friendship between them would last for ever, so he desired to settle all his affairs so that they should last for ever; and because the merchandise and business of trade passed through the hands of foreign merchants, it was very necessary to come to an agreement with them as to the weights and prices of all things, according to what they were worth in the country, and as to this they should make an arrangement which should last for ever, so that there should never be novelties of lowering or raising the prices, on no account, and this in order that there should not be disputes and discussions, which always occur amongst merchants.

This appeared very good to the King, and he was much pleased, and immediately sent for the principal merchants, natives, and foreigners: and, with his ministers present, the King began the conversation by saying, that as he had established in his heart to be for ever a brother in sincere

affection for the King of Portugal, so also he wished to settle the affairs of his trade in buying and selling, that they should be so satisfactory, and should last for ever without ever changing except for good, and each time for the better, so that his kingdom should increase in honour and profit; therefore he had sent to summon them all, in order to make with them this settlement, so that all should be satisfied. All praised him much for this, which he did like a pious King and a good friend of his people; and then and there, without discussions nor obstinacy, amongst them all they made a settlement of the weights, measures, and prices of all the things which the factor could buy or sell, and it was noted down fully, and written by the King's clerks, who were six in number; and it was settled that outside of the factory each one might buy and sell as he chose according to his pleasure. With this all were very well satisfied. All this was written down by the scribes of the King, and it was signed by the King and the Prince, who was present, and by the ministers and all the merchants; and the King ordered them all to swear to it, because he also, with the Prince, swore that it should last for ever. Then the captain-major signed it below, with the factors, clerks, and twenty men, whom the captain-major ordered to sign, and he swore to it all by the head and life of the King of Portugal. When all this was ended, the captain-major presented to the King a crown of gold of much value, placed in a hand-basin of silver, chased and gilt, and an ewer to match; and to the Prince he gave an enamelled collar, ornamented with jewels in the form of a chain, which was worth two hundred crusados, and a round tent, well worked with double linings within and without, lined with coloured satins, a very pretty thing, which the captain-major ordered to be set up in the King's palace, so that he should see it when he went back, and he had sent word that the tent was for the Prince, who used to go to the camp. As it was the custom, when the

prices of purchases and sales were settled, for betel to be given to tho merchants, as the captain-major had not got any, instead of betel, he ordered a thousand crusados to be given in small gold coin to all those who had been present, and two hundred scarlet cloth barret-caps, and two hundred knives with sheaths. And the factor took in his hands a large bottle of Flanders with orange-flower water, very sweet-smelling, which he sprinkled over the merchants, and with it he wetted them all, at which the King was much pleased; and there was merriment and satisfaction for all of them; after which the King departed with the Prince, and the captain-major remained in the factory, where he stayed the whole day, making such arrangements as were necessary, and he appointed for the factor and his officials their salaries, and made Duarte Fernandes, surnamed Tassalho,[1] the almoxarife of the warehouse for the stores for the caravels which were to pass the winter there. For everything he gave full instructions for whatever was required; and he appointed ten men for the service of the factor, to assist him, and ten others for the almoxarife, and three for each clerk, and others, as many as wished to stay to remain in service, all which having been ordained with much nicety, the captain-major betook himself in the morning to the ships. The captains brought their servants on shore to make their sales and purchases, but no one sold nor bought the King's merchandise, for this was strictly prohibited.

[1] Or, nicknamed, Slash.

CHAPTER XI.

How, whilst the ships were loading at Cochym, the Queen of Coulam sent a message to the captain-major to establish trade in Coulam, such as he had in Cochym, and what he replied concerning that.

Whilst the work of taking in cargo was going on, news reached Coulam of the liberalities of the captain-major on account of the good peace and friendship which was established with the King of Cochym, with so considerable a trade of such profit to the King and his people. The Queen of Coulam—for by their laws women govern the kingdom, and they are called Queens, and their husbands not,[1] of which I will give an account further on in its place —was desirous of obtaining for her kingdom the same advantage as Cochym had got; and she held a council with her ministers and principal merchants, saying to them that she desired for her kingdom the same great profit that the King of Cochym had through the peace and friendship which he had with the Portuguese, because she had in her kingdom pepper enough to load twenty ships each year, from which they would derive great profit, according to the mode of trade in Cochym, if our people had a factory established in Coulam, and they would enjoy the great profit which the merchants of Cochym had, who came to Coulam to buy, in order to carry it away and sell it in Cochym. This was indeed so, for the greater quantity of pepper which went to Cochym the merchants bought it in this kingdom of Coulam, and carried it in boats to Cochym, by rivers which flow inside the country. The Queen having come to a conclusion upon this matter with her people, sent her message with respect to it to the captain-major, which she sent with her letter in a boat by sea to the ship in which the

[1] *i. e.*, their husbands are not kings.

captain-major was. The captain-major showed much honour to the messenger, and was much pleased with the substance of his message, which was to the greater profit of the King, for it prayed him to send there the two largest ships which he had, and they should be laden with pepper; and she bound herself to load them with that every year, according to the same agreement as that made in Cochym; and if in future times the rates at Cochym were raised or lowered, she would always follow the order which might exist at Cochym, in good friendship and affairs of trade. Upon this the captain-major held a council with his captains, and it appeared good to all of them, because the having many vendors of pepper was a great benefit in every respect, especially if there should be any impediment in Cochym by which pepper should become scarce. Having taken counsel, the the captain-major replied by letter to the Queen, saying that he was the vassal of so truthful a King, that for a single lie or fault which he might commit against good faith, he would order his head to be cut off; therefore he could not answer anything with certainty, nor accept her friendship, nor the trade which she offered, and for which he thanked her much, without the King first commanded him to do so, because if he did such a thing now, he would be breaking the faith and word which he had given to the King of Cochym, to whom he had promised not to do anything in that country in the matter of trade without his leave and good pleasure, which agreement he must keep and fulfil; for the King of Cochym was so good and true in fulfilling and keeping his word and faith, on which account he had become a brother in affection of the King his sovereign. If she would therefore pardon him, because without the goodwill of the King of Cochym he could not enter upon this matter; but if she were pleased to send her message to the King of Cochym, and if the King of Cochym were pleased, then he would do all that was proper with respect to what she asked,

and for his part nothing would be wanting. This answer having been received by the Queen and her ministers, they esteemed this as very great goodness, since it was the observance of good faith; and on that account they then the more desired our friendship, seeing that our people observed it so perfectly with respect to the King of Cochym. And as the ministers and merchants of Coulam were relations and great friends of those of Cochym, and the Queen also was very friendly with the King of Cochym, with this intimacy, having held her council, she sent him her message upon this business, saying that she had sent to the captain-major to ask for his friendship, and that he should establish trade in her port, and she would give him pepper just as he got it in Cochym; and that he had answered that he would not do it without the King of Cochym's leave and pleasure, because he was bound and obliged in that respect; and as she knew by that the Portuguese thus observed good faith, she was all the more desirous of having friendship with the King of Portugal, and of establishing his trade in her country for the improvement of her kingdom. And as she could not obtain what she so much desired except with his good pleasure, she much begged and entreated him to be pleased that the captain-major should establish trade and friendship with her for ever, for her to give him pepper, and that she would in nowise depart from the agreement for trade which he had established for purchases and sales; and this was of great importance to her for the security of her ships and merchants wherever they went, for if he gave his consent the captain-major would immediately do everything, for he did not excuse himself on any other grounds. The King of Cochym, on hearing this message of the Queen of Coulam, was much grieved, because he did not wish to see the profit and honour of his kingdom go to another, and because by this he would receive some loss; for this pepper which came from Coulam by the rivers paid duties to him at some places

on the rivers, and if this pepper was put on board ship at Coulam, it would not come by the rivers, and he would lose these duties. As the King of Cochym was of opinion that the captain-major would not accept, on account of the labour and risk of separating ships, and merchandise, and workmen, for the purpose of sending to another place to take in cargo, and that the answer which he had given to the Queen was only to excuse himself, since if it had been his desire also, he would have spoken about it himself, and for other reasons which the King took into his head, and from some of his people with whom he conversed about it, the King spoke of it to the factor; and the factor had already been advised by the captain-major of what answer he was to give the King if he spoke to him about this. Therefore he answered the King in such a manner that he confirmed the King in the conclusions which he himself had come to, which was that the captain-major would not do it, even though he asked him to do so. Trusting to this, he sent one of his ministers to speak to the captain-major, with whom he sent the Queen's messenger, so that he might see that he sent to ask this of the captain-major; and if he should not choose to do it, and should excuse himself, the Queen might know that it was not through him that her desire failed of being carried out.

The captain-major had been already informed by the factor of his conversation with the King, and on hearing the message of the minister on behalf of the King, by which he told him that the Queen of Coulam had sent him a message with respect to her desire to establish friendship and trade, so that he should go there and take in pepper, and that he informed him of it, because he was a great friend of the Queen and her relation, and he could do nothing else but entreat him to do it from his affection for her, and because he would be happy to do her any pleasure. The captain-major did honour to the minister and to the Queen's

messenger, and gave his answer for the King, saying, that in that port in which he was, he was the King's vassal, to obey him as much as the King his sovereign, and therefore he would obey him in everything whatever was his will and pleasure; and since the Queen was thus his relation and friend, he was happy to do all that she wished, because he had already sent her a message with respect to this, and he had done nothing, because he did not know whether it would be pleasing to the King of Cochym; but that now that he saw what his will was he would obey it in everything, and settle everything which the Queen asked for in the name of the King his sovereign, and he held the peace as given and confirmed for ever, with the trade as she had asked for it, which was with the same agreement as that of Cochym. Of this he at once gave his letter signed, with a safe-conduct for the ships and merchants of Coulam and its ports, all after the manner of the settlement with Cochym, and that each time of loading cargo they would send there two ships whenever there was a scarcity of pepper in Cochym; and that he did this because the Queen was a relation and friend of the King of Cochym, and he had his instructions to establish good peace and trade with all the relations and friends of the King of Cochym, and especially with his neighbours; and as all these qualities were to be found in the Queen, for that he did it. This letter he put into the hands of the minister to take it and deliver it into the King's hands for him to send to the Queen. With that he took leave of them, sending to the King many thanks for this affair, since he well saw that he did everything like a true brother of the King his sovereign, in order to procure better preparation for loading the ships; for there would always come many ships, but none would go to Coulam to take in cargo, except those which he should send there; and there would not be there any settled factory, only the ships which went there would carry the merchandise to pay for their cargoes,

and would return to Cochym to complete their despatch. The King seeing all this, for the captain-major had concluded everything, and not being able to turn back from his word, dissembled the grief which he felt at it, and repented much having sent to speak to the captain-major, instead of having made his excuses himself. But as he could do nothing else, he feigned that he was pleased, and dismissed the Queen's messenger. When he reached Coulam, the Queen experienced great satisfaction, and at once sent her document to the captain-major, signed by herself and her ministers in the form in which that of the captain-major was couched. This was given to the captain-major, with the request that he would at once send two ships, as there was much pepper collected of the last year's, and there would not be more delay than what was required for putting it on board. The captain-major told the messenger to go and ask the King of Cochym's leave, for so it had been settled that he would send them if the King pleased: this he went and begged hard of the King. He, in order that he might not be found wanting to his word, sent to tell the captain-major to send what ships he pleased. Then the captain-major sent Diogo Fernandes Peteira and Francisco Marecos who had not yet got cargo,[1] and they set sail immediately. There went on board with them the Queen's minister, who took the ships to a river called Calle Coulam, which was five leagues from the port; and Joan de Sá Pereira went as factor to take in the cargo, with a clerk and ten men in his service, with a letter and a present for the Queen of a handsome mirror, and corals, and a large bottle of orange-flower water, and for her people thirty scarlet barret-caps, and thirty dozen of knives with sheaths. This present was conveyed to the Queen by the factor, who was gaily dressed and accompanied by his men, with the minister.

[1] Gama shewed much tact and discretion in this business, obtaining what he most desired by avoiding all appearance of eagerness for it.

The Queen did him much honour, and sent a present to the captain-major of several silk stuffs of various colours, which were made in the country, and very fine white stuffs of very great width, for they were a fathom and a half broad. The factor returned to the ships, where much expedition was used with many boats, and they loaded the ships at both sides; and both of them were filled up in ten days with as much pepper as they could take, and they returned to Cochym, and some pepper was transhipped from them into the other ships, to leave room for the drugs.[1]

CHAPTER XII.

How, whilst the ships were loading, there came to the King of Cochym certain news of the fleet of Calecut, which was already prepared, and how the King of Calecut sent a Brahman with a false message to the captain-major, who executed him.

WHILST the captain-major was thus employed in taking in the ship's cargoes, the King of Cochym sent to call him, and he went immediately. The King, in private with the cap-

[1] Osorio, Barros, and San Roman do not mention this embassage from the Queen of Coulam, but they describe a mission sent by the Christians of St. Thomas from Cranganor, four leagues from Cochym, whose number might be more than thirty thousand souls. These envoys came to offer themselves as subjects of the King of Portugal, and gave to Gama, in sign of obedience, a red staff like a sceptre with silver ends, and at one end three little silver bells; they asked to be visited and protected from the infidel people who vexed them. The admiral, however, only gave them good words, and a promise to recommend them to the care of one of his captains, who would remain, as he had no time, and was returning to Portugal, and that for his part he would represent their case to the King, so that with the first fleet he should be able to take measures for their consolation.

If these envoys had come to offer trade in spices instead of only to ask for protection for their religion their mission would have been more successful.

tain-major, told him that he had information from some of his men, whom he kept as spies in Calecut, who told him that the fleet of Calecut was now entirely ready, that it consisted of several large ships, and sambuks, and rowing barges, with much artillery and fighting-men, and two captain-majors—to wit, Coja Kasim, and the other, Cojambar, a Moorish eunuch, who had now arrived from Mekkah, and had come from the Maldive Islands in a small boat, and had left there two large ships which he had brought, laden with great wealth, and which he did not choose to risk, and he had come to learn if there were Portuguese in India—he, with great pride, had offered himself to the King to take our fleet. All this was very true, and therefore the King of Cochym begged the captain-major, and enjoined him by the life of the King of Portugal his brother, not to stay and fight with the fleet of Calecut, but to depart at once with the cargo which he had got, for very little was wanting, and it was not well to fight with ships so crammed, and he ought to fly from a possible disaster, and not take any other decision than to go out at once into the open sea, without returning to Cananor, and that he would give him in Cochym all that he required for the voyage for all the ships. To this the captain-major replied with great thanks, and said: "Sire, this fleet was fitted out for Pedralvarez Cabral, to come in to take vengeance for what Calecut had done, and he was a very valiant knight for any great deed; but I, Sire, who nourish vexation in my heart for the affront done me by the King of Calecut, my passion is doubled by what he did to Pedralvarez, on which account I had a strong desire to come and take this vengeance, and I strove much with myself not to stand in the way of Pedralvarez, but so great was the struggle which I felt in my heart that I could not endure it, and when the fleet was about to sail I put myself into it, while the King gave great satisfaction for that to Pedralvarez. And because I came with that design,

I brought these caravels which are here, and which are so good at fighting, that they are sufficient for whatever fleet Calecut may possess; and know for certain that the King my sovereign, for his honour's sake, would not value these ships if they were laden with gold; how much less, then, when laden with drugs; for the King was much vexed at the Moors of Calecut having said that Pedralvarez did not dare to fight with his fleet. Therefore, Sire, I hope in God that if I fall in with this fleet, I shall take upon it a part of the vengeance which my heart longs for; and for nothing in the world would I desist from returning to Cananor, to take the ginger which is purchased there; for if I did not go thither, and were thus wanting to the King of Cananor, I should be committing so great an error that the reputation borne by the Portuguese would be lost for ever; and I would sooner die a hundred deaths than that anything should be wanting through me, to that which befits the state of the King my sovereign." The King, on seeing such a determined will on the part of the captain-major, said to him: "I have told you my opinion; do you now comply with your obligation." Upon which the King dismissed him.

The captain-major ordered the caravels and ships to go out of the river, and he went on board the ship of Pero Raphael; and because his caravel ran very fast under sail, he told him to go to Cananor, standing well out to sea, and to call Vicente Sodré, who was to come to Cochym, also standing out to sea, and they were to pass Calecut by night, and not let themselves be seen. The caravel had such a wind that it went in six days, and came back with Vicente Sodré. The captain-major spoke to all the captains of what they had to do if they fought, and all were very well prepared, for they had a great abundance of munitions, and they kept a good look-out at sea. But the King of Cochym, without the captain-major's knowledge, sent Indian boats along the coast, which were to come with the news when they saw the fleet of Calecut.

The King of Calecut made a large expenditure for the payment of the crews of this fleet, and he designed that as soon as it had routed our fleet, it should go and make war on Cochym, and take from the Portuguese the merchandise that remained there; and as he was continually talking with the captains of what they were ordaining for the battle, it was settled that they should send a very confidential spy, who should go to Cochym to see the fleet and ships, how they were laden, and the crews they had, and this seemed good to all of them. Then the King ordained that a Brahman of his, in whom he trusted much, should go to spy this; and he instructed him, and recommended him much to see everything, and he sent him under the pretext of a letter which he gave him for the captain-major, in which he said to him, that with the great passion which he had felt at the injury which the captain-major had done him, with respect to the men of the Malabar vessels laden with rice, he had collected and constructed a large fleet, with such numerous and powerful crews, that he had twenty vessels for each one of the Portuguese, and such captains and armed men, all with so much eagerness to die for taking vengeance, that he held it to be doubtless that he should obtain the victory, which would not be, however, without sinking his ships or burning them, so that not one man would escape. But since God had put into his heart another intention, and he remembered that the evil which had been done to him, he had well deserved it on account of that which he had done, [under bad advice, and especially his heart having been much provoked, yet everything well considered, and weighing one thing with another,[1]] he had settled in his heart not to fall

[1] These words between the brackets the Lisbon editor has left out and put in a note, saying *he had not hesitated to suppress them* though they were in the MS. of the Archives. They are also in the Duke of Gor's MS. The editor of the Lisbon edition gives no reason for this suppression, which does not seem to be required by the sense.

again into such errors; and he wished, if the captain-major chose, that there should be no more wars nor disputes, and the captain-major might remain, and welcome, in Cananor and Cochym, and only let him give him (the King of Calecut) security for his navigation; and for the confirmation of what he said, he might send whom he pleased to come and see if he spoke the truth of the fleet which he had got, and to see with his own eyes; and that after that he would undo everything and order his ships to be dismasted; and these things being so, that the captain-major would be pleased that his friendship should be made, as he requested.

After Cojebequi, a Moor of Calecut, a native of the country, of whom I have already said much before in the history of Pedralvarez Cabral, had departed, the King, satisfied with the robbery,[1] recollected the two young children of the factor, Aires Correa, because they frequently went with their father to the palace of the King, who took much pleasure in seeing them, for they were very pretty, and at times he used to give them trinkets. On this account, remembering them, he inquired if they had been killed at the factory, or if any one had taken them captive, and no one gave him news of them; but they told him that Cojebequi was a great friend of the factor, and that most of his time he was with the factor, by day and by night, and that he might be able to give some account of it. Therefore the King rejoiced at this which they told him, because Cojebequi was one of the richest Moors of Calecut, with a very large house, and many palm-groves, and ships, and trade, which the King desired to plunder, and to take his property, on account of the hatred which he bore him, from knowing that he was a friend of the Portuguese. For this reason the King sent to call him, and told him to bring to him at once the sons of the factor, whom he had taken away from the factory. This the Moor denied strongly, saying that if such a thing were

[1] Of the Portuguese factory in Calecut.

discovered he might order his head to be cut off; upon which the King proffered great threats, and swore that if he did not give them up he would order his houses to be burned, and he himself inside of them with his wives and children. But the Moor, by the pleasure of the Lord, always denied strenuously, without fear of the death which he was certain of, if the children were discovered, neither did he esteem any more many favours which the King promised him if he would deliver them up. The Moor still denied, and said that when the occurrence of the factory took place, his wife was near dying in childbirth, and could not bring forth, and that already when he reached the factory they were killing the Portuguese, and that on the shore he had seen one of the children carried on the back of a black man, who had entered into the crowd, so that he did not see him any more, and he did not know whether the Negro was a slave or a free man. But the King being thus indisposed against the Moor, kept him imprisoned for some time, and took from him all he had, saying, that when he knew the truth about the children, and that the Moor was not in fault, then he would restore to him his property. This the Moor did not care about losing, with the hope that when our people made war on Calecut, and indemnified themselves for the robbery which the King had committed, he also would again recover his property when peace was concluded; and with this hope he continued suffering much poverty, and his friends maintained him. His brother, who was scandalised at the King, who killed the Portuguese whilst he was a hostage on board Pedralvarez' ship, went before the King in a very angry mood, and told him that before he died he would have to receive payment for the evil which he had done, for he did nothing but rob other people of their property; and it was well known, that even though a hundred children were delivered up to him, he would not give up what he had taken from his brother.

The Moor Cojebequi, seeing how much it was necessary for his life, kept the Portuguese, who were three whom he had saved, as I have already related.[1] He stripped them, and dressed them as Moors, with their heads and chins shaved, and put them away privately in other houses belonging to his labourers, who lived in the fields or woods, where on account of their rites all people fly from them; so that they were never seen, nor did the poleas (low people) know who they were, and they were delighted to have them with them, because the Moor sent them food, with which they stuffed themselves. The Moor told them to anoint themselves with oils which he sent them, and to put themselves constantly in the sun, which they did, and in a short time they became as dark as the people of the country. The children he also dressed like his own children, little Moors, and he always kept them amongst his women; and he managed matters so well that they were never perceived, and he saved them, and delivered them up into the hands of our people, as will be related further on in its place.[2]

[1] Cojebequi had detained the children at his own house, where they were visiting, being apprehensive of an outbreak; and went at night to speak to the factor, but could not reach the factory as it was already surrounded: the three Portuguese saved by Cojebequi were found by him concealed under some straw in an outhouse, and he brought them away disguised as Moors, with the assistance of some of his friends.

[2] The following is the sequel of the story of the children of Aires Correa and of the three Portuguese. In 1503, when Duarte Pacheco was Captain of the sea, Cojebequi, who now lived ten leagues from Calecut, wrote to him secretly of the designs of the Zamorim against Cochym and against the factor Alvaro Rafael in Calecut, and advised him to send and save him and the people with him. Duarte Pacheco then sent Pero Rafael secretly to bring away his brother the factor: he went with a caravel and two Indian boats which he bought, and Cananor fishermen, and keeping well out to sea out of sight came before Calecut, and told the fishermen he had come to carry off the factor, and gave them money: by their advice he remained out at sea four days, until the weather grew thick and dark with rain, when he stood in at night and anchored before Calecut. The skiff was prepared with two long strong lines, and when the skiff anchored outside the

This Moor, with the good disposition which he had towards the Portuguese, always took much care to learn all the things which they were preparing in Calecut against our people. And as he was told with great secrecy of the Brahman whom the Zamorim sent to spy the fleet at Cochym, he felt great vexation at not being able to give notice of this to the captain-major; but with the longing which he had for it, he risked his life upon it, and in secret sent for a youth, a relation of his, and gave him a verbal message, which he was to give to the captain-major, by which he sent to tell him that the letter of the Zamorim carried poison for him and the captains; and he told the

surf these lines were taken ashore with the Indian boats, which were beached, and only two sailors remained in each of the Indian boats, which were again hauled out outside the surf. Then Cojebequi's negro and the twelve fishermen of the Indian boats went to the house of the Portuguese and told them Pero Rafael was waiting for them: the Portuguese came out with small bundles which they gave to the sailors, and sword in hand and in single file followed the negro of Cojebequi. The three Portuguese whom Cojebequi saved, and who went about as Moors, were in a house near the shore, by which they passed, and the children of Aires Correa lived with them as their children with a Moorish woman provided by Cojebequi, who passed for their mother: the negro called them and they said they were ready, and all went down to the beach, praying to the Lord to save them. One of the sailors then swam out to call the Indian boats, and the darkness was so great that they could not see each other, and to their great satisfaction they all embarked, thirteen Portuguese and the children and the Moorish woman, who got into the Indian boats; and as there was no room for the sailors they went outside, hanging on to the boats by ropes, and the Lord saved them from the great waves, and all reached the ship's boat, weeping with joy at having escaped from death on shore and in embarking. So they went to the caravel, and Pero Rafael told the fishermen that now they might go, and he gave them the two Indian vessels, and they went away highly satisfied, and the factor gave to each of them thirty fanams, and they went back to the beach and stole some boats, and the caravel carried their masts and sails, and next day at night they went to Cananor that the stolen boats might not be seen. Pero Rafael was received at Cochym with salutes of artillery, and the King said "There is nothing in the world which the Portuguese will not do if they choose it."

youth to go as if he had run away, and to give money to some fishermen to carry him out of Calecut to Panane, and to go out by night from the Indian boat into some fishing village, where he was to give money to be carried further on and set down in another fishing village, and to go on always by sea until he reached the country of Cochym, and then take an Indian boat to convey him to the ships, and go on board the captain-major's ship. The youth managed so well that in four days he reached the captain-major, and gave him the message; and when he heard that it was from Cojebequi, he was much grieved when he learned the injuries which the Zamorim had done to him; but as the Brahman had not arrived, the captain-major did not nnderstand what the purport of the message was. But at the end of three days the Brahman arrived in an Indian boat, and went to the captain-major's ship, and came on board, and made a great salutation to the captain-major, saying: "Sir, as I bring you a good message, I did not ask leave to come on board. The Zamorim sends you this letter. Order it to be read, and give me an answer, as I wish to return immediately." The captain-major asked him of what race he was. He said that he was a Nair and a Brahman. The captain-major ordered a scribe of the King of Cochym, who was in the ship, reckoning cargo, to read the letter, and he read it. The captain-major then sent the Brahman, with the letter, to the King of Cochym, in the skiff, and the Indian boat with the rowers remained at the ship. When the King heard the letter, he laughed to himself without answering anything, and sent it back to the ship. The captain-major summoned before him the rowers of the Indian boat, and ordered them to sit down on the ground, and told them not to get up, or he would order them to be executed; and he ordered their hands to be tied together, and told them to look well at everything. He then ordered the Brahman to be taken by the arms by two Negroes, that he might not fling himself

into the sea, and said to him: "Brahman, tell me what the Zamorim ordered you to do." He replied that the King had not told him anything, except to deliver that letter and return immediately with the answer. The captain-major told him to swear by the head of the Zamorim that he spoke the truth, and he would not swear. Then he ordered him to be tied to the bits,[1] and sent for an iron shovel full of embers, and ordered them to be put close to his shins, until large blisters rose upon them, whilst the interpreter shouted to him to tell the truth about what he came for, and what orders he had received, but he would not speak. The captain-major let him remain thus, and the fire was brought closer by degrees, until he could not bear it, and he said he would speak the truth, and he confessed all that the King had said to him, and had ordered him to look and see; and he said that now that he had spoken the truth, let him order him to be killed, since he would not return to Calecut, for if they did not kill him, he should kill himself by his own hands. The captain-major questioned him why he would not return to Calecut, and would kill himself in order not to go thither. He said: "I do not deserve to live since I have discovered the King's secret." The captain-major said: "If, then, you will kill yourself, who will carry the answer to the King?" He replied, the Negro boatmen would carry it. Then the captain-major ordered the Negroes of the Indian boat to be unbound, and a white cloth to be given to each of them, telling them to row hard and return quickly. He then ordered the upper and lower lips of the Brahman to be cut off, so that all his teeth shewed, and he ordered the ears of a dog on board the ship to be cut off, and he had them fastened and sewn with many stitches on the Brahman instead of his, and he sent him in the Indian boat to return to Calecut. He, with resentment at his

[1] *Porpao* or *prepao*, Gallicè, *bitton d'écoutes*, a wooden frame before the mast to which the ropes of the mainsail are made fast.

injury which the King had caused him, made them row with speed, so that he arrived at Calecut in a day and a night; and he presented himself before the King, and said: "Look here at the answer which I bring you. Look well how you manage your business. Let the affront to you be my vengeance and that of your fleet." The King felt himself greatly aggrieved, and ordered that the fleet should go at once in search of the Portuguese, and they were not so ready but that our men had first sailed from Cochym; for our ships finished taking in cargo of all that they wanted, at their choice, of pepper and drugs, which were in superabundance, because the merchants of Cochym, when they saw our great trade established from which they derived so much profit, had sent their ships to Malacca, and Banda, and Maluco with their merchandise, which consisted of Cambay stuffs, for which they brought all sorts of drugs, and on their return from Malacca they fetched cinnamon from Ceylon, and they had all ready in Cochym for loading the ships; and what remained over above they went to sell at Cambay, whence they fetched their stuffs, with which they returned to Malacca.[1]

[1] Barros and Osorio relate the incident of the Brahman envoy differently: they say that he came with some youths, two sons and a nephew, whom he wished Gama to take back to Portugal that they might learn Latin and inquire into the Christian faith; after a time the Brahman said he came about something else, and that was to mediate between the Portuguese and the Zamorim, and that the Zamorim was ready to restore the value of the plunder of the factory, as much as twenty thousand pardaos. At length Gama decided on putting this to the proof, and left the fleet in charge of, Barros says, D. Luis Coutinho, Osorio says, Estevan da Gama, and sailed for Calecut, Barros says taking with him the Brahman and children, Osorio says leaving the Brahman behind at Cochym. Arrived at Calecut negotiations began, but ended in nothing, as Vicente Sodre was before Calecut with his fleet, and did not allow even the fishing-boats to come out. Gama's ship was attacked one night by several paraos, and two boats set on fire close to the ship, which was in great danger and had to cut its cable. Barros says the difficulty of doing this was increased, Gama having

CHAPTER XIII.

How the ships when laden sailed for Cananor and fell in with the fleet of Calecut, which was routed; and how they arrived at Cananor, and set sail safely for Portugal.

THE captain-major having already ordained and concluded all the affairs of the fleet, gave instructions to the factor, Diogo Fernandes Correa, with whom he left much goods which had remained over and above, for him to buy pepper and store it for another cargo; and he left carpenters, caulkers, blacksmiths, turners, and cordage makers, who were to refit the ships which had to remain in Cochym, where they could be beached, and build other new ones if it was necessary; for which a large magazine building was made, where, with the workmen and men-at-arms, there would remain as many as sixty men,[1] to whom the factor was to give their pay, and a cruzado per month for their maintenance, and two to the workmen whilst they were at work; and he provided very fully for everything. Then he went with the captains to take leave of the King; and on taking the letters which the King sent, he said to him: "Sire, I thus leave matters ordained in your country as if I

anchored with a chain cable to prevent its being cut, and which he could not slip, and had to cut. At length the ship got loose and made way under sail from amidst the paraos and returned to Cochim. There, Osorio says, Gama hung the Brahman, the children having escaped ashore before the attack. Barros says the Brahman had gone ashore to negotiate and had remained in Calecut, and that Gama hung the three children, who had remained on board as hostages, to his yardarms, and passed before the town with them suspended, and then sent their bodies on shore with a letter to the Zamorim in terms conformable to his treachery.

[1] Barros says he left thirty men, and Lorenzo Moreno and Alvaro Vaz as clerks to the factor.

did it in Portugal; but nothing shall be done except with your order, and as may seem best to you, because all is yours, since it belongs to the King your brother, and know for certain that for your service he would expend the whole of his kingdom and his vassals whenever it were necessary; and for your service I leave Vicente Sodré, who is here, with eight caravels and ships and crews, who will do all that you command." At which the King was much pleased, for he expected war with Calecut;[1] and after talking to the King of all that was requisite, all took leave and returned to the ships, which contained all that was wanted. The captain-major told the captains that if they fell in with the Calecut fleet, they were by no means to board, but fight with their artillery; and when the sails did not serve them, they were not to strike them, but only brail them up with the halliards; and for all the ships they were to have several tubs of water, with pails, with which to put out any fire, which was the greatest danger against which they had to guard. They then set sail,[2] and he sent Vicente Sodré with the caravels and his ships to run along the shore, and to sink everything he fell in with; and this fleet consisted of three ships and five caravels; and the laden ships and smaller vessels were ten,[3] which stood more out to sea; and

[1] Osorio says the King of Calecut wrote to the King of Cochim calling upon him to give up the Portuguese to him; but the King of Cochim replied that he was surprised at such a proposition, and that so illustrious a king should urge other kings to fraud; and the highest power did not constitute a king, but virtue that was worthy of power. The King of Calecut wrote as many as three times, partly alluring, partly threatening the King of Cochim, who remained firm: he did not, however, mention this to Gama, lest he should be disturbed by sinister suspicions.

Barros says nothing of this. San Roman follows Osorio, and says the King of Cochim's name was Triumpar.

[2] Barros says he sailed on the 18th of January, 1503.

[3] Osorio says he had thirteen laden ships, and expected to join three others at Cananor.

he ordered that in fighting with the fleet they should strive to overcome the large ships.

Sailing with this plan, one morning they sighted the fleet of Calecut, which was coming along the coast with a light land breeze; there were so many sail that our people did not see the end of them, as they came one after the other in a long line, for so the captain Cojambar had ordered it that they might make more show; he came in the van with the large ships, which might be as many as twenty, with many fustas and large sambuks, which altogether might be seventy sail which came in the first squadron, with which Vicente Sodré, who was running close in shore, fell in, and the rest came behind.[1] When Vicente Sodré saw the fleet he ordered the caravels to edge in close inshore, one astern of the other in a line, and to run under all the sail they could carry, firing as many guns as they could, and he with the ships remained behind. Each of the caravels carried thirty men, and four heavy guns below, and above six falconnets, and ten swivel-guns placed on the quarter deck and in the bows, and two of the falconnets fired astern; the ships

[1] Barros makes no mention of this action with the fleet of Calecut; possibly the omission may be owing to the interpolation of the minor action before Calecut, when he says Gama left the fleet at Cochim. Osorio says: Gama was not more than six leagues from Pandarane, when he discovered twenty-nine sail which the King of Calecut had sent against him. Upon the advice of the other captains he resolved to attack it. He sent to the front Vincente Sodré, Pero Rafael, and Diogo Petreio, because their ships were least laden. They attacked two Arab ships which were foremost; the crews of these ships, terrified, before Gama came up flung themselves into the sea; the Portuguese took to their boats, and killed more than three hundred of them in the waves. The other Calecut ships, seeing these two taken and the crews killed, turned towards the shore, where Gama could not follow them, as his ships were heavily laden. In plundering the captured ships the Portuguese found a golden image of a monstrous shape; it weighed forty pounds, for eyes it had two valuable emeralds, and a large carbuncle in the breast, and it was clothed with a gold mantle. After the ships had been emptied Gama ordered them to be set on fire.

carried six guns below on the deck, and two smaller ones on the poop, and eight falconnets above and several swivel-guns, and before the mast[1] two smaller pieces which fired forwards; the ships of burden were much more equipped with artillery. When they saw the fleet they might be about two leagues from one another, so that our men had time to prepare themselves with great order. The Moors, seeing our fleet was so small whilst they were so many, gave great shouts, with sound of instruments, and hung out flags and standards, which our men did not attend to, so as to have less hamper. Pero Rafael went in the foremost caravel, and he stood as close in shore as he could, so that the caravels remained to windward of the Moors.[2] Ahead of the Moorish flagship came many paraos, which are like fustas, and they remained to seaward, so that their ships might shelter them from the guns of the caravels; these, with the instructions under which they sailed, could only use their two guns on the seaward side, which in all the caravels would be ten guns. When they had reached as far forward as the Moorish ships, all recommending themselves to the Lord, discharged their guns, all firing at the flagship; and those which passed forward went against the other ships, for it was not possible to miss; and they made such haste to load again that they loaded the guns with bags of powder which they had ready for this purpose made to measure, so that they could load again very speedily. But with this first discharge our men made such good work that they brought down the mast of the flagship, which fell over and stove in the ship and killed many Moors; and another shot hit it full and passed through near the poop, which it shattered much and killed and wounded many people; of the other large ships three were stove in low down, so that they foundered and went to the bottom, many people remaining on the water swimming, who

[1] Literally, in the *prepao*.

[2] The wind was a land-breeze.

betook themselves to the paraos and caught hold of the oars, so that they could not row, and they could not get ont of the way of their own ships, which came against them and capsized them, so that they so much embarrassed one another that they all remained stuck close to each other, and our ships fired into them for a considerable time, for they fired into the thick with their heavy guns, so that they shattered many in pieces, killing many people, on account of which there were shrieks and cries amongst the Moors. The ships brailed up their sails to the yards and discharged all their guns. The Moors, although they were in such straits, fired much artillery which they carried, and much of it threw shot like bowls,[1] and they did not fight any other way. Thus embarrassed the wind drove them out to sea, so that the ships lengthened their distance from them, always doing them much damage with the artillery, becanse our shot was much more powerful than theirs. As at this time the ships of burden had come up, Vicente Sodré loosed his sails and ran on after the caravels, which were now reaching the other squadron of the Moors, the captain of which was the Moor Coja Kasim, which consisted of more than a hundred sail, but the greater part of them were sambuks, which he had collected to make a show of a great fleet; and these, seeing the ships and caravels coming, as they left the others already routed, were greatly afraid. But the Moor held on his course with all his large ships straight for our ships to board them, and Vicente Sodré did not turn aside because he went with all his artillery ready, and Ruy Lorenzo Ravasco and Vasco Fernandes Tinoco, who were in the other ships, also went prepared. As the wind freshened and was better for our ships, they made straight for the Moorish flagship which came foremost and in the centre of the others, and before closing there was a discharge of many shot; and as the

[1] This means apparently that the shot of the Calecut fleet travelled very slowly.

flagship carried much artillery, one shot entered the ship of Vasco Tinoco, and killed him and two men, wounding others with splinters of wood, but a shot from the Portuguese ship took the flagship obliquely and threw it into disorder, killing many men, because all the Moors showed themselves above, but our men remained below and none showed except the gunners and the men who assisted them. The Portuguese ships kept their steerage way, keeping aloof from the Moorish ships, passing amongst them all, doing wonders with their artillery, firing both broadsides and their poop and forecastle guns, as in all directions it was not possible to miss; the Moors also fired much artillery which they carried, but they were small guns, and when they passed near our ships they covered them with arrows, but they did not hurt the men who lay hid, and so they passed through all the fleet of the Moors, and when they had passed the ships and sails were all covered with arrows, and there were many holes in the sails and much rigging broken; but the Moorish ships were much ill-treated, they were shattered and stove in, and many had the masts and yards shattered, which was the greatest advantage our men obtained.

The caravels, which ran along, also entered amongst the Moors without fear, seeing that they did not carry heavy guns, and they also discharged their guns on both sides, firing with the heavy guns between wind and water, and with the falconnets and swivel-guns at the Moors on deck, so that they killed many people and broke masts and yards which fell upon the Moors and killed them; and when the caravels passed forward they also had some men who worked the guns wounded with arrows. When they had quite gone through they turned upon the other tack, as did also the ships, and turning back thus the wind was insufficient, for they could not sail upon the bowline as close as the Moorish ships, which were making for the shore as much as they could to escape from our ships: but the caravels overhauled

them and remained astern of them, so that then they aimed at leisure at the large ships, and those that were hit were soon sent to the bottom. In this confusion the other first ships of the Moors came up, and the Portuguese ships of burden came up with them, and when they were within range the captain-major ordered them to fire, which the other ships did also, for they came in file, one after the other, as the captain-major had ordered. As they fired many heavy guns they caused such terror to the Moors that they edged away in shore as much as they could. But with the confusion they drifted away a good deal to seawards, and the wind fell calm so that all remained becalmed; the Moors then made much use of their rowing paraos which lengthened their distance from the Portuguese large and small ships, which could not reach them with their artillery; bnt the caravels also had themselves towed by their boats so that they came up with the large ships, and Pero Rafael advanced so much that he reached the ship of Coja Kasim and fired so many shots into his rigging that he brought down his yard, for he broke the halliards, and as the sail held no wind it fell in board and killed and wounded many people.

The captain-major, seeing that the business was certain, sent the boats with falconnets and swivel-guns, and in each boat twenty armed men, with cross-bow men, to go to the ships which were becalmed, and shoot at them above and kill the crews. This they did, so that the Moors threw themselves into the sea, and went swimming round the ships. The paraos seeing the boats ventured against them, and came to attack and board them, but our men entered with lance thrusts and drove them into the sea. Then the gunners entered, and with their hammers knocked out the planks at the bottom, so that the water came in, and they went to the bottom. This they did to six or seven vessels, after which the others would not come up any more. Then two boats went to join the caravel of Pero Rafael, and they

shot so much at the crew that all of them cast themselves into the sea, and the Moor threw himself into a parao and fled. Then Pero Afonso d'Aguiar, who was in one of the boats, ordered them to enter the ship, which was empty of men, and they saw that it was laden with pepper; and they took it in tow, and brought it close to the captain-major, and went and told him that the ship was thus laden. The captain-major ordered them to break into the ship, and afterwards set it on fire. Pero Rafael and Gil Matoso went inside and found a cabin below, with many Moorish women and little children, and very rich things, which Coja Kasim had embarked secretly, with the design, if he lost the battle, of going to Mekkah, and on this account he had also embarked his women and the children he had. There was also found there an image of Mahomed, which he carried to offer to the leg-bone, which was of solid gold and jewels, which was worth much money;[1] and the captain-major kept it and some pretty girls for the Queen. All the rest he left to the captains and sailors, who found many very rich things in the ship, and many women also put below in cabins, who belonged to rich Moors who were also embarked with the Moor. Then the captain-major sent his boat to the ships and caravels to tell the crews to flock to the ships and plunder them, and set them on fire. This they did, but they did not find anything to plunder, for they were sambuks and vessels which had come to fight; so they set them on fire. The sea was full of people waiting for wind to return to the ships and go away. But whilst the calm lasted, many vessels and sambuks, towed by their boats, escaped to the shore. When it was mid-day the sea-breeze arose, at which the captain-major fired a swivel-gun, and hoisted a flag at the stern,—

[1] This story of the image either arose out of a popular prejudice in the Peninsula that such images are kept at Mekkah, or else if there was such an image, it must have been a Hindu idol carried off by Coja Kasim. See Osorio's statement, note, p. 367.

the signal to summon the ships,—and went on the course for Cananor, giving to the Lord great praise and thanks for the so great favour which He had shewn him; and he went with little sail so that they might come up with him, which all did, saluting with shouts and cries of joy, and the captain-major spoke to all, giving them many praises and satisfaction for their honour.

Vicente Sodré shouted to the captain-major, and said that it was not well to pass by Calecut without showing them some sign of the festival which they had held, and asked his leave to return to the Moors to take some signal which he might carry to Calecut. The captain-major told him to go, and welcome, with the caravels, which returned with him; and with the sea-breeze they soon reached the shattered and dismasted ships, and they found in a ship the other Moor Cojambar, who was now, with his crew, doing his best to make sail on his ship; but seeing our men return, all the Moors took to flight, swimming, for they were near the land. Then the Portuguese ships took in their sails without anchoring, and went to the ships to plunder, but they found there little property. They then made fast the large ship astern of other ships which carried sail, and each ship took in tow the vessels and sambuks which she was able to draw after her, for they only carried ballast, and they returned towards Calecut. In this manner, on the next day, they arrived before Calecut far out in the offing, for the wind carried them there with the sambuks, with which they could not haul upon the bowline. When the wind fell calm, they made fast the ships and sambuks to one another low down at the water-line, and when the wind sprung up they went before the city and set fire to them all, and let them go ashore; and they made a fearful fire, for there were thirteen vessels and sambuks, which, with the wind, went as far as the beach, where there were crowds of people, upon whom the ships made a discharge with their artillery, and a

large portion of it reached them. They then went on the course for Cananor, where the captain-major already was. He arrived with much show of rejoicing, and the fleet dressed ont with flags, saluting with chambers so as not to injure the ships; and he landed and went to the church with all the crews to give praise to the Lord; and Gil Fernandes Barbosa took possession of his factory, with Bastian Alvares and Diogo Nunes as clerks.[1] This Gil Fernandes had a nephew named Duarte Barbosa, who, remaining with him in Cochym, learned the language of the Malabars so well, that he spoke it bettor than the people of the country.

Here the captain-major held a consultation with the captains as to what was to be done with the artillery, as it was not good that it should return to Portugal; and all said that it would be well to leave it, and to speak upon the subject to the King, so that he might not think it strange to see artillery disembarked in his country. This having been agreed upon, the captain-major went to speak to the King and to take leave of him, and give him explanations about the artillery which he wished to leave: to which the King said that he did well, and they talked for some time of the dispersion of the fleet, the King saying that now the Zamorim would never make another. He then gave the captain-major letters and presents for the King of Portugal, after which they took leave of one another. The captain-major went immediately to the ships, and hurried the sending ashore of the artillery, so that before it was morning the boats were already at the shore with the heavy guns, and they rolled them on shore on beams, and many gunners and artillery took them up above to the settlement and pnt them in a hollow from which stone had been quarried; there were thirty guns and twenty falconnets, which were all covered over with earth. And the next day they landed twelve,

[1] Barros names the clerks Bastian Alvares and Diogo Godinho.

which they had not room for,[1] and twenty falconnets and forty swivel guns, which were also buried with the falconnets, and they landed the gun-carriages and a quantity of cannon-shot, which were also buried; and all was collected together so that it was not perceived. Then the captain-major sent through the factor to entreat the King much to send his Gozil with his stonemasons to build a thick wall of stone, and high, outside of the palissade, with its gate shut with a key, and that at night he should send to shut the door, and keep the key; and that in doing this he would give him great pleasure, because the Portuguese would remain at night shut in under his key. With this the King was much pleased, and promised the captain-major that it should be done at once; for he thought that the captain-major did it with the desire that the Portuguese should remain subject to him. But the captain-major did it because, with a wall thus built, the settlement remained secure from fire. This wall was built before a month had elapsed; and the captain-major charged the factor above all to keep a strict watch with respect to fire, and that the men should cook their supper by day, and should not keep fires at night nor candles in any house; and he left full regulations for everything with the factor. He left with the captain-major of the sea the power over everything by sea and land, with powers like those he himself enjoyed; and he ordered him to cruise along the coast all the summer, doing all sorts of injury to the affairs of Calecut, and always to visit Cochym, and not to take more ships than he needed, and to lay up the others in Cananor or in Cochym, where he was to pass the winter if there should be war, and he was to do all that the King of Cochym ordered him, because so the King of Portugal commanded; and should there not be any necessity

[1] Porque nom cobrirão, Lisbon edition; que nao cobrirão, Duke of Goa's MS. Neither of these readings makes sense, and I have supposed that by an error the verb *cobrir* has been substituted for the verb *caber*.

for wintering in Cochym, he was to go further along the coast, and cruise for prizes among the ships bound for Mekkah;[1] and the ships of Cambay he was to let pass as friends; and in all respects he was to act so as to gain friends, and take care that the crews were well treated and paid, for there remained much merchandise in the factory; and he left twenty pipes of powder, which the factor put into jars underground well preserved.[2]

The captain-major ordered the clerks of the factory to make a list of all the people who might choose to remain in the fleet[3] of their own accord, because he did not leave more than thirty men[4] with their officers in the factory. On this account, the men, longing for the prizes which they hoped to make, rejoiced to remain, and there remained two hundred men. And he appointed as captains of the ships, Bras Sodré, brother of the chief captain, and Pero d'Atayde, a good gentleman, and as captains of the caravels, Joan Lopez Perestrelo, Antonio Fernandes the Red, Ruy de Mendanha, and Gomes Ferreira, who had been factor. Everything having been thus provided for, as much as was

[1] Vicente Sodré was wrecked and drowned in July or August of 1503, at anchor off the Curia Muria Islands. His brother, Bras Sodré's ship, was also wrecked, but he and his crew escaped to land, as Correa says, by their mast and rigging, which fell overboard towards the shore.

[2] Osorio says Gama made a treaty with the King of Cananor, which provided that the King of Cananor should never make war on the King of Cochim, nor should he join with the King of Calecut for the destruction of Cochim, neither, if the King of Calecut made war on Cochim, was he to send him supplies; and Gama committed to the charge of the King of Cananor the Portuguese who were to remain there for King Manuel's affairs.

Gama left six ships with Vicente Sodré, who was to support the King of Cochim as much as possible against Calecut; and if by February there was no appearance of hostilities, he was to go to the Arabian Straits, and carry on war against the Arabs.

[3] The fleet of Vicente Sodré.

[4] Barros says he left about twenty men in the factory.

requisite, the fleet set sail for Portugal,[1] and Vicente Sodré went in company with it, with his fleet, as far as Mount Dely, where they took in wood and water, and took on board their boats and skiffs, which was all done in two days, and they departed standing out to sea, sailing for Melinde, with such favourable weather that in few days they arrived at Melinde, and anchored outside the port; and the captain-major at once disembarked in his boat and went on shore, and the King made great rejoicings for him. The captain-major told his captains to return to the ships, and to send and fetch from the shore whatever they required, and he remained with the King that night and the next day, giving him an account of all that he had left accomplished in India; and taking the letters and things for the King of Portugal, they took leave of one another like great friends. At sunset the captain-major went away to embark, and the King had already filled the ships with sheep and many fresh provisions. When it was night he set sail along the coast with very fair winds, and did not choose to enter Mozambique, as he had no need to do so, but continued his course without ever meeting with any storm or hindrance, but only winds with which all his sails served. So he made his course for the Terceira Islands, which he sighted, but which also he did not touch at, as he had a very fair wind, and he arrived at the bar of Lisbon in the evening, at the time of full tide, with which there entered into the river three ships of Flanders; he also entered together with them, without anchoring, except before the city.[2] This is a thing to be set

[1] Osorio says Gama sailed from Cananor on the 28th day of December, 1502.

[2] Osorio says of the return voyage that Gama took in water and provisions at Mozambique, and met with a storm not far from the Cape, in which Estevan da Gama's ship parted company from the others. Gama, however, reached Lisbon on the 1st of September, 1503, with twelve laden ships: six days later Estevan da Gama reached Lisbon after an equally prosperous voyage.

down to the good pleasure of the Lord, that weighing his anchor at Melinde, he cast it again in Lisbon, with ten ships laden with very great wealth, after leaving such great services accomplished in India. When this was told to the King, he felt much pleasure, and sent to visit the captain-major by D. Nuno Manuel, his captain of the guard, and he himself went on horseback with many people to the cathedral, to give much praise to the Lord before the altar of Saint Vincent. Dom Vasco, when D. Nuno came to visit him on the part of the King, disembarked afterwards with him, and all the captains; and coming out upon the shore they found many relations and friends, and horses, upon which they all mounted, and went their way to the cathedral, where the King had ordered them to go and give praise to the Lord, accompanied by the Bishop of Guarda and the Count of Penela, whom the King sent to receive them; and they arrived where the King was; and when they had ended their prayers, they went to kiss his hand.[1] The King treated

Barros also mentions that Vicente Sodré accompanied Gama during the day on which they left Cananor. He says Gama did not stop anywhere except at Mozambique to take in some cargo, and though he met with hard weather, he arrived at Lisbon with nine sail on the 10th of November. Barros also mentions the arrival of the Dutch ships at the same time as Gama, along with two caravels from S. Jorge da Mina, and two ships from Oran laden with carpets, and a ship from the Levant named the *Annunciada*, one of the most beautiful vessels seen in Europe.

San Roman relates the rendering tributary the King of Quiloa as having happened on the return voyage instead of in the outward voyage; he says Gama arrived at Lisbon on the 1st September, 1503, and also mentions the arrival at the same moment of the Dutch ships and other vessels from the Levant.

[1] Barros and San Roman say that on his arrival at Lisbon Gama presented to the King the tribute paid by the King of Quiloa, which was carried in a large silver basin; with this tribute money (which Barros had said was five hundred mithcals, and San Roman says was two thousand mithcals of gold), the King ordered a gold custodia, or tabernacle, to be made, which he presented to the church of Belem as the first-fruits of his victories in Asia. This custodia was sent by the

them all with much honour, and with great rejoicings he mounted his horse, and went conversing with the captain-major to the palace in the upper part of the castle, where he then lodged; and they went in to the Queen, and all of them kissed her hand and that of the Prince, the Queen shewing them much honour. The King then bade them go and repose, for such good services well deserved it. To honour so fortunate a voyage, the King bestowed great favours on the captains, and ordered the immediate payment to the crews of all that was owing to them, and an easy dispatch of their chests and things in the custom-house; and to Dom Vasco he gave great favours, and all his goods free and exempt, and he granted him the anchorage dues of India, and made him admiral of its seas for ever; and he bestowed the anchorage dues on his heirs, and made him one of the principal men of his kingdom, and always increased him with greater honours, as will be seen further on in these histories.[1]

King D. Luis to the Paris Exhibition of 1867: a correspondent of the *Times*, November 1, 1867, says that it was made by Gil Vicente of the convent of Belem and placed there; and that on the suppression of religious houses it was placed in the mint.

[1] Correa says, tom. i, p. 525, that in 1505 the King appointed Tristan da Cunha to govern India for three years, and a great fleet was prepared, with respect to which Tristan da Cunha gave all the necessary orders, *with much assistance from Dom Vasco da Gama, who was the principal person in all the affairs of India.* At p. 529, in speaking of D. Francisco d'Almeida's preparations to go to India in 1505 instead of Tristan da Cunha, who had suddenly become blind, Correa says that Almeida had got a great abundance of stores and munitions, *according to the very full minutes which D. Vasco da Gama gave with respect to all, for he directed and ordained everything*, having been already appointed admiral of the Indian Sea, and he was always with the Viceroy despatching business.

Correa makes no other mention of Vasco da Gama till 1524.

THE THIRD VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA, AND HIS VICEROYALTY: FROM THE "LENDAS DA INDIA," OF GASPAR CORREA (LISBON, 1861.)

CHAPTER I.

Dom Vasco da Gama, second Viceroy of India, who went thither this year—1524.

ON the eleventh of September[1] there arrived at the bar of Goa, Dom Vasco da Gama, who discovered India, as viceroy of India; he had been made Count of Vidigueira, and admiral of the Indian seas, and he came this year in the ship *St. Catherine of Mount Sinay*, and with him there came two sons; the elder named Dom Estevan da Gama, who was captain-major at sea, and later was governor of India; and the other named Dom Paulo da Gama, who was killed in the war of Malacca. The said Dom Vasco brought with him great state, and was served by men bearing silver maces, by a major-domo, and two pages with gold neck-chains, many equerries, and body servants, very well clothed and cared for; he also brought rich vessels of silver, and rich tapestry of Flanders, and for the table at which he sate, brocade cloths. They brought to him at table large dishes, as if to the king, with his napkin-bearer bringing him the ewer, and all the forms of precedence of a king. The ornaments of his wardrobe, bed, and chapel were very

[1] The original MS. has—Em xi de Setembro chegou, etc.; it is possible that an x was omitted.

Castanheda says Gama left Portugal on the 9th of April, 1524.

complete, with much show and arrangement. He had a guard of two hundred men, with gilt pikes, clothed with his livery. He kept a splendid table; all the gentlemen and honourable persons ate with him. He brought out with him complete power of justice and revenue, like the King's self, over all persons who might be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope. He was a very disdainful man, and ready to anger, very rash, much feared and respected, very knowing and experienced in all matters. He brought with him very brilliant soldiery, and as captains, men of high family, the greater part of whom had been brought up in the labours of Indian affairs; also Afonso Mexia, clerk of the King's chamber, as overseer of the treasury, and as secretary, Vicente Pegado, a noble gentleman, who in the office spoke to him with one knee on the ground. He brought out large supplies for the magazines, and much artillery, and armouries of white weapons, rich cuirasses and firelocks, which were given to the people in his pay, as was the custom in the kingdom.[1] There came with him Dom Anrique de Meneses, as captain of Goa, who later was governor of India, and Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, as captain of Cochym, who also was governor in India; and Pero Mascarenhas as captain of Malacca, who also governed India, as will be seen in this history, in their times. And there came Antonio da Silveira, D. Fernando de Monroyo, and D. Simão de Meneses, who was to be captain at Cananor, and Vicente Gil, a shipping agent, and the overseer of the revenue, and Antonio Carvalho, his clerk, in small ships, and Francisco de Brito for the voyage to Ormuz; and Ruy Gonzalvez, who was captain of the militia in India, Lopo Lobo, Christovão Rosado, Mosem Gaspar Homem, a foreigner, these four were in lateen-rigged carvels; and Pero Velho in a round carvel. Dom Fernando de Monroyo was wrecked on the

[1] Barros says the fleet carried three thousand men, a great part of whom were gentlemen, knights, and dependents of the King's palace.

coast of Melinde, which I will relate further on; the Mosem Gaspar, being a man of narrow understanding, and not conducting himself well with the people, the seamen, and master and pilot killed him,[1] and seized upon the carvel and went to the Strait to cruise for prizes, where they were captured by Antonio da Miranda, who went there with a fleet, and brought them to India, where all were hung. The viceroy arrived at Mozambique,[2] where he provided what was necessary, and from thence he sent one of his servants in the carvel of Mosem Gaspar with a present of various things of the kingdom, which he sent to the King of Melinde, with letters of great friendship, and asking pardon for not going to visit him in person, as he had a large fleet to lade, and time was wanting. In this voyage, on leaving Melinde for India, the mice Gaspar was killed.

The Viceroy with the fleet reached the coast of India in the neighbourhood of Dabul; and before they saw land, and with the wind becalmed, during the watch of daybreak, the sea trembled in such manner, giving such great buffets to the ships, that all thought they were on shoals, and struck the sails, and lowered the boats into the sea with great shouts and cries, and discharge of cannons. On casting the lead, with the perturbation, they did not find any bottom,

[1] Barros says Gama's fleet was composed of nine large ships and five lateen carvels, which sailed from Lisbon on the 9th April, 1524. Besides the captains mentioned by Correa, he names D. Jorge de Meneses and Francisco de Sá, son of João Rodrigues de Sá, alcaide mór of Oporto, who was to go to Java to erect a fort at Sunda. Barros says that Mosem Gaspar was a Majorcan: he mentions the loss of the ship of Francisco de Brito, of the galloon of D. Francisco de Monroy on the shoals of Melinde, whose crew were saved, and the loss of the carvels of Christovão Rosado and Mosem Gaspar.

Castanheda also says Gama sailed on the 9th April with fourteen sail, of which seven were ships, four caravels, and three galleons.

[2] Barros says the fleet arrived at Mozambique on the 14th of August, and that Gama there repaired a yardarm which had been sprung in his own ship.

and they cried to God for mercy, because the ships pitched so violently that the men could not stand upright, and the chests were sent from one end of the ship to the other. This trembling came on with violence, and died off, and then again was renewed, each time during the space of a Credo. The whole lasted for about an hour, in which the water made a great boiling up, one sea struggling with another. There came with the Viceroy a master of the art of medicine, an astrologer, who at once said to the Viceroy that it was a quaking of the sea.[1] When it was clear day they saw the

[1] Barros gives a similar account of the confusion caused by the earthquake; he says it happened on Wednesday (the 7th), eve of Our Lady of September (the 8th) at eight p.m., and lasted a quarter of an hour; it was followed by a very heavy fall of rain, like a deluge, which fell without wind or other previous signs: it lasted a short time. He adds that Gama, when he saw what was going on, and the fears of the crew, said to them: "Friends! be glad and joyful, for the sea trembles at us: have no fear, for this is an earthquake." Barros says all the damage done was the loss of a man who cast himself into the sea thinking that the ship had grounded on a bank. Shortly after Gama's fleet captured a Moorish ship, which also had felt the earthquake: from the pilots of this vessel the Portuguese learned that they were near Dio, and would reach it in three days. Gama gave orders to make for Dio, and as they sailed for six days without reaching land the crews became terrified, saying that the land had been swallowed up by the earthquake. The reason for believing this was an opinion which they had brought from the kingdom, authorised by several astrologers of Europe, who affirmed that in this year of 1524 there was a conjunction of all the planets in the house of Piscis, which prognosticated an almost general delnge, or at least of a large part of the earth, chiefly near the coast. This opinion gained ground so much that there were noble persons in this kingdom (Portugal) who ordered shelter to be prepared for them with stores of biscuit in high mountains. According as Alberto Pighio Campensis relates in his learned treatise against this opinion, some people in his country, from the belief they had in it, neglected business of great importance. However, with all this belief on the part of Alberto's people, we know that our people did not desist from their pleasures and vices. It seems that these prophets of astrology were not sent by God like the prophet Jonah to the Ninevites, who repented from fear of God; bnt these others feared death more than Him: for those put on sackcloth, prayed, and fasted three days with all their soul, praying for the pardon

land, and when it was recognised, with the sea-breeze they stood for Chaul, where they anchored,[1] and Simão d'Andrade at once went to visit the ship. The Viceroy did him great honour, and gave to him and to all the captains of the fleet large presents of refreshments, because he was very grand

of God for their sins; but the Ninevites of our time, who had baptism, made provision of biscuit and other victuals to ensure their lives, without preparing their souls against what it might please God to do with them. So from this opinion which the crews held (or rather fable of ignorant astrologers, since the year was faulty in being dry more than stormy), they were so terrified at the preceding signs that the admiral decided on again questioning the Moorish pilot why he had misled him as to the time which he had fixed for seeing land. He replied that if his lordship had ordered to steer as he had said they would already have sighted the coast of Dio, but as he had put the ship's head for Chaul they had run by the other coast, and that by his reckoning by this course they ought to sight Chaul next day. Although it was not so, they sighted Baçaim, which is six leagues north of Chaul, and the next day, which was the fifth of September, the admiral anchored in the port of Chaul. (Dec. iii, lib. ix, cap. 1.)

Here there is an error in the dates, and Barros contradicts himself, for he says the earthquake happened on the 7th September, after which there were eight days' navigation, which would bring the fleet to Chaul on the 15th September: the date of the fifth can hardly be a misprint for the fifteenth, since Barros says Gama left Chaul on the 12th.

San Roman says the earthquake happened on the morning of the sixth September. Castanheda mentions the earthquake on the 6th September, near the coast of India.

[1] Barros says that in Chaul, Vasco da Gama took the title of Viceroy as he had been ordered by the King to take it in the first fortress of India which he reached: in which the King followed the example of his father D. Manuel when he sent Francisco d'Almeida to those parts. Castanheda says that Gama published his commission in Chaul, as the King had ordered, and that he remained there three days at anchor without landing, nor allowing any one to land, except Joan Soyro, the auditor-general, and Sebastian Luis, the secretary of Cochym, whom he ordered to visit, in his name, the fortress of Chaul, and to publish that all the soldiers who were unmarried or who did not belong to the local garrison were to embark at once and follow the Viceroy. He also ordered Christopher de Sousa, the captain of the fort, that if Duarte de Meneses arrived he was not to allow him to land, nor give him provisions for more than four days.

and liberal in his expenditure. There the Viceroy at once appointed Christovão de Sousa as captain of the fortress, according to instruction from the King. The Viceroy also made appointments in all posts, high and low, because he had instructions to make appointments for everything wherever he arrived, without waiting for the governor, Dom Duarte [de Meneses], to give in his accounts, since the King was very indignant with him for his evil deeds. The Viceroy gave a written instruction to Christovão de Sousa, that if the governor should come thither, he should do nothing that he might command him, and not to fulfil anything of what he might find to have been commanded by him. Having disposed of matters as was fitting in Chaul, he went to Goa,[1] where the city gave him a great reception

[1] The following is a translation of a letter from the Chamber of Goa announcing the arrival of Vasco da Gama at Goa on the 23rd September, 1524, the text of which is given in the Appendix, p. x.

"Through Luis Fernandez Colazo, whom we had sent as our agent to Your Highness, we received the answer to the letters which he conveyed from this city, and also the confirmation of our privileges, with the settlement of regulations, and also the sanction of appointments to offices, all despatched satisfactorily as we desired, and for all this we kiss the hands of Your Highness; and we cannot deny that the love and good will which the King your father (may he be in holy glory!) had for this city and its inhabitants is not forgotten, according as we see by the many favours which you grant us, both in despatching our business, and in all the rest which for our part we have requested: and for ever we and our sons will beseech and pray the Lord God to increase the days and royal state of Your Highness for His service.

"The Count of Vidigueira arrived at this city on the 23rd day of September of the present year with nine ships; they say that five are wanting of the number of those that set sail with him. It seems to us that he comes with good designs, and desirous to serve Your Highness, and to do justice to suitors, which is very requisite for this country; from what we have seen in this city, and from what he did in the few days that he remained in it in redressing the injuries of many persons, and rectifying faults which had been committed against your revenue. He was received by us in this city with that honour which those deserve who love justice, and fulfil your commands. We presented to him our privileges and liberties, to all which he says he will have regard as they

with festivities and a rich canopy, and a harangue, and they bore him in procession to the cathedral; and they conveyed

have been granted us by Your Highness; on account of the short time that he remained in this city, he could not despatch some matters which we brought before him, and because the time drew nigh for getting ready the pepper cargo, neither would he take cognisance of many matters which remain until his return, and according as things happen here, it is not fitting for him to repose in the midst of what he is charged with, as we have seen.

"Many persons went to him with offerings such as it is customary to make to governors when they are newly arrived; he would not take anything from Christian or Moor, and still less from this city, which we all look upon as extraordinary, as it is the custom for all to be accepted. He left as captain in this city Dom Anrique de Meneses, as D. Fernando had not come, who it is said is coming as captain: we cannot say anything besides what should be said of a good gentleman, and we are treated by him as is reasonable and just, and according to what Your Highness commands and recommends.

"In all the letters which we have written to Your Highness we have given an account of this city and of its noble foundation, and of the Portuguese inhabitants who dwell in it with their wives and children, and now it seems right that we should do so in this letter. It seems that the Portuguese who at present are married and established will be four hundred and fifty, and it cannot with certainty be said how many they are, as they are scattered about in many parts, and of those we know of many are gentlemen, and knights, and squires, servants of yours, and other persons of much desert, who have rendered much service to Your Highness, both in these parts and in others of your realms; these have got sons and danghters to marry, and some of them already married in this city: and since it is thus ordained by God that we are to leave our native countries to people this land, we beg Your Highness to bear in mind our services, and those which it is hoped that our sons will perform.

"With regard to some works which have been executed in this city, the chief one is the monastery of St. Francis, which we may say has been completed, and it is said to be one of the best houses to be found in your realms, both for its good monks, and for its other works; and in the next place a hospital which Francisco Pereira built close to the gate of St. Catharine of this city, and excepting that of Lisbon we know of no other better, it is a great comfort to the sick, with the good management which it has; and it was very necessary that it should have been built, on account of tho many sick who arrived with this fleet of the Count.

"There has also been made a stone quay on the sea at the strand-gate,

him with rejoicings to the fortress, which Francisco Pereira had kept in very good order, and he had gone to visit the vice-

and this was by the orders of Francisco Pereira; it is a great embellishment of the city, as it is a very good work, and galleys, and fustas, and other small vessels come alongside of it to discharge cargo, and take in what they want: there are some other works which are not more near completion than they were before, and the others which Francisco Pereira executed during the time that he was captain here, Your Highness will already know of.

"We reminded the Count of the repairs of the walls of this city; he took much pleasure at this, and looked to it, and ordered D. Anrique our captain to commence facing it, we beg Your Highness to give further orders to undertake this and make the necessary repairs, because it is not for your service that it should remain thus.

"With regard to the building of the houses which the inhabitants have made, they are good, and every day they build some, and within the circuit of the city there is no unoccupied ground, nor can the married people be contained within it, and many live outside in the suburbs, being unable to do anything else, as they are very poor.

"The mainland which Ruy de Melo, who was captain of this city, conquered, was entered by the Moors, who used to possess it, in the month of April of five hundred and twenty-four, and they hold it as theirs, and the first Tanadar's district which they took was that of Perna, which is by the seaside: there they captured two Portuguese, and one of them was the Tanadar; these are prisoners in the fortress of Bylgan, of which the Suffilarim is captain. We do not judge to whom should be given the blame for losing this land, but Dom Duarte, who was the governor in these parts, was at the bar of this city with a fleet ready to sail for Ormuz, and he was asked to give succour, and told that with few men he could cast out the Moors from the country: he answered that he could not do it, as he was on a voyage; and that even if Goa should be lost, he would not desist from going to Ormuz, which was little necessary for what was fitting for your service. His brother, Dom Luis de Meneses, was also at that time in this city, and he went to winter in Cochym, and he carried away all the men whom he could, and as it was the beginning of winter the Moors increased in numbers and got possession of the country; nevertheless, Francisco Pereira crossed over the river with what men he had in the city, who were very few, and for all that, he could do nothing more there than abandon the country.

"The horses which came this year from Ormuz to this city were one thousand three hundred and forty-three, besides thirty-six that died, and the reason that more did not come was the insurrection which

roy at the bar, and accompanied him. The viceroy, on entering the fortress, said to him: "Senhor Francisco Pereira, I

happened in Ormuz this year. It seems to us more will come, on account of the trade of Ormuz having been established with the merchants.

"As soon as the Count arrived at this city, among other things which we requested of him, on behalf of the city and its inhabitants, we presented to him some minutes, which were made in the Chamber with the concurrence of all the people: in these we seek redress from him for some disputes and injuries which were done by Francisco Pereira, our captain, to several inhabitants of this city; and not so much for what touched their persons, as each one could make his complaint for himself, but for what concerned the privileges and liberties which were given us by the King your father (may he be in glory), and now have been newly confirmed by Your Highness; for [his conduct] was in a great measure in opposition to these, such as putting many of the citizens into prison in irons without reason, and without charge or inquiry held upon them, in which he went against our said privileges, and after that, in ordering their houses to be taken from some of the inhabitants to lodge other persons in them, turning out of them their wives and children, in which he acted against the said privileges; and this also in ordering all the provisions which came to this city to cross the wharves in order to lade his ships, and again sell them in this city, and in giving offices which Your Highness had granted to us, to single men, as happened with the port of entrance of Manuel de Sampayo, which was vacant. It was also contrary to the said privileges his ordering to put in prison the ordinary judges who by election are appointed with their staves, and he ordered the solicitor of the city to be put into prison in irons for requiring what his office made requisite; and he took away the staves of some of the inspectors of the markets and had them broken in pieces; and the fines of the market which were decided by the inspectors of weights and measures, he did not choose that they should be conveyed to the Chamber, by which the city suffered loss. There were other things contained in the said minutes, which we drew up that the Count might see them, and act in this as he thought most fit for your service. These he saw, and being on the way to Cochym, he could not inquire more into this, and he committed all to Dom Anrique, our captain; and upon the said minutes a process was instituted, and according to its nature great expenses were caused to the people of this city, upon which we held a Chamber, and all the people were summoned by proclamation; and it was agreed upon by all, that the said minutes had not been given to the Count in order that claims should be made by law, and that men should waste their property [sueing] with Francisco Pereira, but only in order that he,

should wish to find all your affairs kept thus in as good order as these buildings." Because he brought a memorandum

through the powers which he brings from Your Highness, should take measures in this matter according as might be for your service; and that we should write this same to Your Highness respecting the said minutes, in what concerned the privileges of this city, since we felt aggrieved in what had been done in opposition to them, in what has been said, not only in the special matter, but in general, as is notorious; and since we saw that the decision of these affairs was postponed, and that Francisco Pereira had cast suspicion upon all the inhabitants of this city, both upon the officers of justice and upon other persons, and that this suspicion gained credence, we desist from saying more of the said minutes, and of the opinion of the people; and we inform Your Highness of it, and petition you in respect to Francisco Pereira's going against our privileges, to preserve entire justice towards us, and to command that the truth may be ascertained by persons free from suspicion: for it cannot be but that among five hundred inhabitants that are in this city, there should not be twenty, of whom there is no suspicion, and who are not ill disposed to Francisco Pereira; because we hope to prove completely that he has acted against the said privileges in what has been mentioned, and he gives as an excuse that we did not notify them to him, when the fortress of this city was handed over to him by Rui de Mello. At that time they were read and notified to him by the officers of the Chamber, and he swore upon the Holy Gospels to comply with them, and he signed the oath at the foot of the book of the Chamber, as will be seen.

"Your Highness has granted to the inhabitants of this city the favour that the offices both of your treasury and of justice should be held among them for three years, and by those persons who were capable, as is stated more at length in the letter granting the said offices; and as we see that of these who have to be in office for three years, some persons since your letter hold them for their lives, we are aggrieved in this; also as Crysua, who holds four offices, and Pero Gdo. three, and in other cases each one has his, which we do not name, we petition Your Highness that no office be granted for life, but only for three years at a time, for there do not remain besides any more than seven or eight offices, and of these we take whatever they give us, up to the present time. So we petition Your Highness to be pleased that of these offices which may have to be provided for by the governor or captain of the fort, the presentation of persons for them may be by the Chamber, so that all may have part in the favour which is granted them by Your Highness, for it happens frequently that the offices are given more from partisanship than from merit.

against him of grave accusations which had reached the King concerning him. Immediately, on the next day, he put Dom Anrique de Meneses in the captaincy, and the people of the country seeing that Francisco Pereira was already turned out of the post of captain, there came at once to the viceroy great complaints of great evil doings, which the viceroy already brought written down; on which account the viceroy heard a great deal against him, for he had instructions to observe strict justice in all matters.[1] He made Francisco Pereira pay much money, without demands nor citations, because he heard the parties verbally, and he condemned him to pay, for he already knew the evil deeds done by Francisco Pereira, which had been reported to the kingdom by certified inquiries. For he was so bold a man, and conducted himself so ill with the people, that the chief men of the city had been near rising up and deposing him from the post of captain, and for that reason they concerted and drew up a statement with many counts to be given to

"With respect to some offices which ought to be appointed for life, we have already written upon that matter to Your Highness, as it seems to us to be for the service of God and for yours: such as are the notaries, of deeds, of justice, and of the Chamber, because these are appointments which it is not well that they should run for three years, and not for the lives of the persons who are to serve them; and the notaries of deeds whom Your Highness sends, let them be given for life, and so it will be done. By the fleets which went from here in the time of Dom Duarte, we have written at length to your Highness many things about this city and also about India, and it seems to us unnecessary to write more in this, since the things which have been done cannot be hid. May it please the Lord God to increase the days and royal state of Your Highness for His service. Written in the Chamber of the said city of Goa on the last day of October. Luis Alvarez did it. Year of 1524.

"Christovam Affonso, Diogo Y°, Payo Rodriguez, Pero Gonzalez."

[1] Barros says the chief thing the Viceroy did in Goa was to inquire into the affairs of Francisco Pereira Pestana, the captain of the city, against whom there were some complaints, as he was a man of a harsh disposition; and they were such that he deprived him of his captaincy, and put into it D. Henrique de Meneses.

the governor, and to be sent to the King with the legal representative of the city to pray for justice; in this were stated many very shameful things, worthy of severe chastisement. This business was concerted by eighteen householders, chief men of Goa, and witnesses were named. This minute, thus drawn up, was shewn to the bishop, Dom Martinho, who was in Goa, and was lying ill in bed when the viceroy arrived, and on that account did not go to receive him with the procession; he, on seeing the statement, saw that it was all true; and they wished to elect the bishop as captain until the governor should come, but the bishop was virtuous, and would not consent to it, but, on the contrary, turned them aside from the whole matter. Since doubt arose amongst them that this might be discovered, all of their free will took oath upon a missal book in the hands of the bishop, never to discover this matter, and that all of them would kill whoever disclosed it.

When they were all outside the house, there was one who at once turned Judas, and disclosed everything to Francisco Pereira, upon which he played the devil with some whom he laid hands upon, and imprisoned them narrowly, and destroyed their property, and ordered their houses to be pulled down, and themselves proclaimed as traitors. He went to the house of the bishop and spoke to him outrageous words, saying that he was a harbourer of traitors; and he took the property of all, as forfeited to the King, and made it over to the factory, and ordered it to be expended in building a hospital for the sick; so that was built, which now stands at the gate of St. Catharine. The Viceroy would not hear of anything, but only ordered the payment of whatever was demanded from Francisco Pereira. He, seeing himself so persecuted that he was ordered to pay everything only upon the oath of the claimant, said to the Viceroy—"Sir, now that they rob me of my property, demanding from me that which I do not owe, I beg of your lordship not to order the

oath to be administered to anyone, but that as much as they may claim from me may be freely paid, and I will send to proclaim that whoever desires the money of Francisco Pereira may come and ask for it."[1] The Viceroy became very angry, and said to him: "When you took that which was not yours, why did you not choose that it should be judged by means of the administration of justice? and since these things were so, it is not well that you should meet with justice, since you did not observe it; but in order to discharge your conscience, I will order it to be proclaimed that whosoever you may owe money or property to may come without fear to demand it, and it shall be paid to him: and I will not hear of criminal matters until the fit time for it."[2]

The Viceroy commanded the doctor of the hospital not to take in any sick person unless he were afflicted with sores or wounds; and as the sick men who arrived in the ships clamoured on account of this, and it was reported to him, he answered that he knew of a remedy with which they would at once become sound; and he ordered it to be proclaimed that in three days from that time the shares would be paid of a rich ship which he had taken coming from Chaul,[3] and which was coming from Mecca, in which one

[1] Castanheda relates this, and adds: "By this means Pereira acquitted himself of his debts through the prudence of the Viceroy, who took good care that each man got his rights and nothing more."

[2] Francisco Pereira Pestana left Lisbon to come out to India in April 1508 as captain of the *Lionarda*, with the appointment of captain of the fort at Quiloa. (Correa, i, p. 886; Osorio, v.) The last time Correa mentions him is in February 1526, when, after the death of the governor Anrique de Meneses, Pero Mascarenhas, captain of Malacca, was found to be the first named in the succession to the governorship; and those who expected to be the next named were D. Simão de Meneses, Heytor da Silveira, *Francisco Pereira Pestana*, João da Silveira, and Lopo Vaz de Sampayo. This latter was the one actually named, and he held the government till Pero Mascarenhas arrived. The mention made of Pereira in 1525 by Correa is more favourable to him than what is mentioned during Vasco da Gama's viceroyalty.

[3] Barros mentions the capture of a Moorish ship, probably the same,

hundred thousand serafins had been found in gold, and two hundred thonsand in merchandise and slaves. He appointed as factor and distributor of this Fernan Martins Avangelho, and Bastian Luiz, clerk of the seamen's list, who sold it all; and the whole was divided into shares, so that nothing was wanting. All the people flocked to this payment, and many came ont of the hospital, and he ordered that they should not take them in again, for he was well informed that they took men into the hospital out of friendship. He also forbade that anyone who was wounded in a brawl should be taken to the hospital, saying that they brawled on account of women, and for that reason were not to be cured in the hospital. He gave strict orders against the ships' crews coming on shore, and that they were to remain on board the ships, where they would receive their victuals. The auditor-general, João do Soyro, who had come with him, remained on guard over the ships at the bar. The Viceroy had it proclaimed that every man should go to Cochym to be enrolled, because all those who did not go thither should remain without pay: and he did this also in Chaul, where the people remained according to the list and roll which he gave out, and so he did in Goa. In order that the ships might not be detained, he did not consent to their disembarking anything in Goa, which caused great losses to the shipping-agents, and was the cause of his giving them later shipments gratis for Goa in the King's ships, becanse he attended very much to administering strict justice. When the Viceroy was at Belem, before setting sail, knowing how

before Gama reached Chaul. It was bound from the Red Sea to Cambay, and was boarded first by D. Jorge de Meneses. Gama, after hearing from its captain, master, and pilot what goods they carried, put on board of her Tristão d'Ataíde, his brother-in-law, and Fernão Martins Evangelho, and when taken to Chaul the goods on board were valued at sixty thousand cruzados. Castanheda says the money taken amounted to sixty thousand cruzados, and the merchandise two hundred thousand more.

great inconveniences resulted from men bringing women in the ships, both on account of their souls and on account of plots and brawls, in order not to give rise to these evils, he ordered it to be proclaimed on shore, and on board the ships, and his orders were posted at the foot of the masts, that any woman who should be found in the ships outside of Belem, should be publicly scourged, even though she were a married woman, and her husband should be sent back to Portugal loaded with fetters; and should she be a slave and a captive she should be confiscated[1] for the ransom of captives: and the captain who should find a woman in his ship and not give her up should for that lose his commission.[2] He ordered the auditor to draw up an act of these proclamations: and when the ships reached Mozambique, three women were denounced to him, and he ordered them to be taken up, and here in Goa he ordered them to be scourged, all three together, with the proclamation by the crier of—"The justice of the King our sovereign! it orders these women to be flogged, because they had no fear of his justice, and crossed over to India in spite of his prohibition."

All the gentlemen, and the bishop, and the friars, and the brothers of mercy interceded on behalf of these women, and good men offered three thousand pardaos for the ransom of captives, which the Viceroy would not listen to at all. On the next day, when they were to be brought out to be flogged, the brothers of mercy and the Franciscan friars came with a crucifix to beg for the women to be given up to them. This being told to Vasca da Gama, he sent them word to take back the crucifix at once to the altar, and then he would listen to them. This they did. Then he spoke to them, and told them not to let such a thing happen to them again, because to come to his house with a crucifix, through the streets where there were so many people, was a kind of

[1] Perdida. [2] Ordenado.

conspiracy, and done to show the people that he was cruel and pitiless, and that they should not do this to him again. They entreated him earnestly to pardon,[1] because if he did not carry out the execution of these women who had contemned his justice, men would act much better, confiding in that he would pardon their evil doings. This he would not do for anything in the world, and of this he took his oath, and promised that he would execute strict justice, without any pardon, on those who fell into his hands; and this he notified to all persons who might do evil in his time, that they should suffer his strict chastisement, without his diminishing or pardoning anything; for as to the man who did evil, he would take all his property, and he would give it as a reward to whoever delivered him into his hands, and he would order them to be slain inside the Balagate; and it might very well happen that he would pardon some people for things which they had already done, but for those things which they did in his time they would find no remedy in him, but only the punishment of strict justice. So he commanded that the women should be flogged,[2] saying, that he would punish with rigorous justice in this world, and that the Lord would have mercy in the next on whomsoever was deserving of it; and that on account of the intention with which he was acting, God would give him his recompense according to his intention, for he would punish the bad with all his power, in order that the evils wrought by those who did not fear God should not increase; for, he said, "never shall they meet with anything from me except all severity and punishment." The people were much scandalised at what happened to these women, and judged

[1] The text here appears to be incorrect.

[2] Vasco da Gama sent them dowers from his death-bed. See further on. San Roman mentions the flogging of two women with two hundred stripes, according to the proclamation published in Lisbon against their coming in the fleet on account of the many crimes committed in consequence.

the Viceroy to be a cruel man; but seeing such great firmness in carrying out his will, they felt great fear, and were wary, and reformed many evils which existed in India, especially among the gentlemen who were very dissolute and evil-doers.

The Viceroy was very zealous for the King's revenue, and used to say that men came to India very poor and enriched themselves; and that he, if he could, would make the King rich, as the greatest benefit the people could obtain was to have their King well supplied. He was very ill disposed towards those of the King's officers who were rich; and those who arrived with appointments from the King, before giving them their charges, he used to question and examine them, and if they did not give a good account of themselves, and shew themselves well fitted for the discharge of their offices, he did not commit them to them; and if it was an office of clerk, he used to bid the person write in his presence, and if he was not a good writer he did not give it to him, and would say that if a man wrote badly and begged for a clerkship, it was only for the purpose of evildoing. He did not give appointments except to very official people,[1] and said that he would not give appointments in the King's revenue as a reward for services rendered, because if afterwards he should detect them in robberies he should not bring them to justice; and that men's services should be repaid with favours and honours, and not with appointments in which they could gain money; and for this purpose he had authority to grant pensions, and increase of allowances, and honours, such as each might deserve. He commanded it to be proclaimed that any person in insurrection or who had fled from justice, that was going about India before his arrival, would be pardoned by him on behalf of justice for what he had done, if he returned to the service of God and the King within three months; and if not they would never

[1] A homens muyto officiaes.

be pardoned, in the same manner as those should never be pardoned who should commit evil after he had arrived in India.

He ordered it to be proclaimed that, under pain of death and loss of property, no one should navigate without his license, and that those who owned ships should make contracts and shipments with the King's factors, with the papers that should be requisite, and that without this they should not navigate; and that any man who traded with the property of an officer of the King, whether an officer of justice or of exchequer, should lose his ship and all his property to the King, and should be banished for ever to Portugal, without leave to return again to India; because the King had need of the trade of India, to gain thereby wherewith to pay the services of the men in India, and to oblige them to serve in the fleets. He ordered it to be proclaimed that he gave permission to any man to go back to the kingdom who did not wish to continue in India, and who did not owe anything to the King or to justice. He took away the pay and rations from the married men, who were not to receive them unless there was a war in which they fought, or unless they went aboard the fleets. He had an inquiry made into the peculations and robberies which the officers had committed in the revenue of the mainland, and ordered them all to be arrested, and strict accounts to be taken from them. He had it proclaimed that no seafaring man should wear a cloak except on a Sunday or Saint's day on going to church, and if they did, that it should be taken away by the constables, and they should be put at the pump-break for a day in disgrace; and that every man who drew pay as a matchlock man should wear his match fastened to his arm. He upbraided the men-at-arms very much for wearing cloaks, because with them they did not look like soldiers. He ordered that the slaves they might have should be men who could assist in any labour, for they were not going to be

allowed to embark pages dressed out like dolls on board the King's ships, and grown-up slaves going in the fleet would be supplied with the King's rations. He ordered it to be proclaimed, under pain of death and confiscation, that any person who had got any of the King's artillery should send and deliver it to the magazine, without any penalty, even though he might have stolen it anywhero, and this within the space of one month, after which they would incur the penalty. In this manner much artillery was gathered in, which was in the possession of trading merchants, through agreements with King's officers, who used to deliver it up, the King remaining a loser of the powder and balls which they sold.

The Viceroy thus gave instructions for many matters which he placed on a good footing; and he embarked for Cochym in a new galliot,[1] which he found completed. He embarked with few servants, who were not gentlemen, for he always rid himself of those, and preferred the lascars, who conducted themselves after the manner of good soldiers. He was accompanied by six fustas, with which he went along the shore, and the ships out at sea, and he used to go up the rivers and see how they were, so as to learn everything. He left orders with Dom Anrique that if the governor arrived there he was not to allow him to land, nor obey him

[1] Barros says of the voyage to Cochym that it was full of affronts, which were so great for his state and condition that he made haste at Cochym to take measures respecting them. On the way he met Francisco de Mendonça with eight sail guarding the coast. The Moors took little account of him, for as they had swift vessels, and the Portuguese ships were large and heavy, they dealt with our vessels like a light horseman with a man-at-arms. For which reason they were so bold that they appeared before the Viceroy during the whole voyage in all directions, showing that they took no heed of him; so at last he sent his son D. Estevan with some others in boats to frighten them, and some paid for others. San Roman says the Moors showed on several occasions that they thought little of his coming, as it seemed to them that he knew more as a mariner than as a soldier.

in anything. As the Viceroy went thus running down the coast, he learned that the paraos of Calecut had factors in the rivers of Mangalor and Bacanor, who sold the plunder which they took, and gave them cargo of rice, which they carried to Calecut. He ordered the bars of these rivers to be taken possession of, and placed there Jeronymo de Sousa and Manuel de Macedo, with vessels for that purpose;[1] for the paraos which cruised outside, knowing that the Viceroy had arrived at Goa, had all taken shelter in Calecut.

He arrived at Cananor, where they gave him his reception, and he had an interview with the King, with pomp and honours. The King was much pleased to see him, on account of the things which had been related of him with respect to the discovery of India, and the injuries which he had since done to Calecut; and he gave him a rich jewelled neck-chain, and the Viceroy sent him a present of pieces of silk from the kingdom, and both established great friendship. He remained there three days, and put D. Simão de Meneses in the flagship, because D. João da Silveira had finished his time; and he departed, and passed by Calecut at night, because he learned that it was in a state of commotion, but there was no fighting, and the people of the shore communicated with our men, and came to sell provisions at the gate of the fort, after they heard of the arrival of the Viceroy.

[The next, or second chapter, relates how Dom Anrique, Captain of Goa, sent Christovão de Brito with a fleet to the river of Dabul, and what happened there.]

[1] Barros says he gave Jeronymo de Sousa six vessels, and that he destroyed more than forty paraos, which had been equipped at Coulete under a Moorish captain named Cutialla, by orders of the Zamorim, to cut off the provisions which the Portuguese carried from Cananor to their fort in Calecut.

CHAPTER III.

How the Viceroy came to Cochym,[1] and what happened until D. Duarte arrived from Ormuz.

WHEN it was known in Cochym that the Viceroy was already near the town, the Doctor Pero Nunes, the overseer of the treasury, went out to sea in a large boat with an awning, and dressed out, to land the Viceroy in it if he was so pleased. Since the sea-breeze was feeble, the Viceroy did not reach further than to Cranganor, where the overseer came up with him, and was received by him with great honour, because he had been much commended by the King; for as long as he had held his office, which had been six years, he had done such good service, that he had sent pepper of such quality that in the kingdom it suffered a loss of[2] seven or eight per cent., whilst at first it lost thirty or forty per per cent., on account of being damp, green, and with a mixture of sand and grit, and the factors mixed it badly, by which they made their profit. This man remained all night with the Viceroy, to whom he gave a long account of the affairs of the governor and of all India.

Dom Luis kept the galloon *Sam Luis* outside of the bar; he had refitted it this winter, and it was well equipped with artillery of heavy calibre, and awnings and flags. He embarked in it next day with many gentlemen and plenty of food, and set sail in search of the Viceroy, who was standing well out to sea with the land-breeze, which was light for reaching Cochym. On reaching the poop of the Viceroy's ship, he ordered a salute to be made from the galloon's top by lowering and hoisting the standard of captain-major of

[1] Castanheda says Gama arrived at Cochym at the end of October.

[2] Quebrava.

the sea, which he carried. This was replied to with trumpets and kettledrums, because the Viceroy was now coming in the ship from Cananor to this place. Dom Luiz immediately got into a boat with his gentlemen and went to the ship, and the Viceroy received him at the ship's side with many embraces and welcomes, and Dom Luiz made great courtesies; after which, they sat down on chairs upon the quarter-deck, where the Viceroy received the gentlemen who came with D. Luis to make their salutations. The Viceroy dismissed the overseer of the revenue, who went on shore. He had given the Viceroy a long account of the goodness of Dom Luiz, and especially of the manner in which he had reproved the governor for his faults, so that they were not on good terms together: of which the King in Portugal was already well informed, on which account he had charged the Viceroy to shew D. Luis great honour.

Dom Luis remained with the Viceroy talking of pressing matters and of the voyage, until the sea-breeze came, when they made for Cochym, and they reached the bar at Ave Maria (after sunset). The ship of Vicente Gil was at the bar. He, as a merchant, to make his profits, had parted company at sea in the night, and made his course for Cochym, where he sold his merchandise and made much profit, which he would not have done had he gone to Goa. This the Viceroy was well aware of, and paid him off well for it, because he had strictly forbidden all the captains separating from him.

On arriving at the anchorage, Dom Luis took leave, and returned to his galloon, which was a long way off from the anchorage of the ships. The Viceroy's ship made a salute with much artillery, after which all the fleet fired salutes, and last of all the caravels: a wonderful sight to see, for as the night was already dark, all the fleet could be seen by the glare of the artillery fire; but a shot from one of the caravels, from want of care, struck another, and killed two

men in it. When all had done firing, then Dom Luis gave orders for firing all the heavy guns which had balls, which were thirty-two large pieces, and besides falconnets, swivel-guns, and chambers,[1] so that he fired more than a hundred shots, and surpassed them all; and the Viceroy was much pleased at seeing so well armed a galloon.

The Viceroy slept in his ship, where next day the King sent to visit him by one of his ministers; and Dom Luis went on shore to arrange with the officials of the Chamber for his reception; and everything was got ready for the next day, when D. Luis went to disembark the Viceroy, for which purpose he took a new galley which he had built, and which was manned from the prow abaft with slaves belonging to the King, who were good rowers. The poop was dressed out with rich cloths, and contained the gentlemen, and a great banquet for breakfasting or dining, if the Viceroy pleased. With him there came D. Diogo de Lima, the captain of the fortress, which fired a great salute on his reaching the ship, when he went to the Viceroy, who received them with great courtesy. On D. Luis saying that he had come to convey him on shore, the Viceroy made him many excuses, and said that he would not go except in his own boat, which was already prepared for that, with an awning of scarlet cloth striped with dark velvet, braided with gold thread and black thread, and a fringe of gold and scarlet, and lined inside with satin brocade, and at the stern the royal standard of white damask, and the cross of Christ on each side, made of crimson satin, braided with gold thread and tassels. His guard went in two boats with its captain, dressed in livery, with pikes gilt half way; and in another boat the auditor-general, with his constable and men with their staves of justice and lances. All the captains came in their boats, with their people very richly dressed. When the Viceroy entered his boat, he sat down

[1] Camaras.

on a chair, and [made] D. Luis [sit] close to him on another: at which D. Luis made great compliments of courtesy, and excused himself from taking the chair; but the Viceroy made him sit down, and said: "Sir, let your worship sit down, for you deserve other greater honour, and you have gained it in the estimation of the King my sovereign, through your good deserts of honourable deeds and good understanding; for you have obtained more than the governor, your brother, who in India has injured his great honour, which he won with so many labours in Africa: all which has increased in you through your goodness, for which His Highness will give you great recompense." Since the Viceroy said this to him in public, Dom Luis replied to him with his barret-cap in his hand: "Sir, I kiss your lordship's hands for so much honour, but if I have any goodness, the favours which His Highness shewed to me have given it me: but if he is dissatisfied with the governor my brother, I can feel no pleasure which can ward off that great grief, which is the greatest which I can feel in this world, because I shall not be able to remain without some portion of blame." The Viceroy answered him: "On the contrary, it the more redounds to your honour." So they went on conversing very sweet words until they arrived at the strand, where they landed in front of the church, where the Viceroy was received by the aldermen (*vereadores*) with a rich canopy, and a harangue of great praise; and with the clergy in procession and the uplifted cross, they went to the church to prayer. They told him that the King of Cochim was coming, and when the prayers were ended, the Viceroy came to the door of the church, until the King approached, when the Viceroy came out to receive him in the straight street,[1] and the King on seeing him, dismounted from the elephant on which he came, and embraced the Viceroy

[1] O sayo a receber á Rua direita: or, in the street on the right hand side.

several times, and the Viceroy made great salutations of courtesy to him, and they went to sit in the doorway of the church, which had a large porch, where they spoke words befitting a visit; after which the King took leave, and returned upon his elephant. The Viceroy went to lodge in the fortress, at the gate of which, he dismissed Dom Luis with his salutations. There Dom Luis always visited him, and always accompanied him to the church, and returned to his own house, because the Viceroy occupied himself with the dispatch of business, which gave him much occupation, without his taking repose or mid-day sleep, neither did he close his doors;[1] and in the mornings and evenings he used to visit the strand and the warehouses, to hurry on the unlading of the ships. The Viceroy commanded Vicente Gil to be put into prison because he had come to Cochym before him, and he ordered the master and pilot to pay each of them a hundred cruzados, and Vicente Gil three hundred, which he sent to the superintendent of mercy for the expenses of the hospital.

The Viceroy, in running down the coast, had left a guard in the rivers of Mangalor and Bacanor, and had sent Diogo Martins de Lemos in a galliot to seize upon the river of Mangicirão, beyond the mountain Dely, because he knew that the paraos had there also a landing-place for taking in provisions. He also had four fustas, besides those which had been taken in Dabul, which D. Anrique had sent to him from Goa.[2] The Viceroy entertained serious thoughts of carrying on a great war in all the coast and rivers of the

[1] The text has *sem ter repouso, nem sesta, nem porteiro*, nor a porter: that is to say, he was always accessible.

[2] Barros also mentions amongst the acts of the Viceroy at Cochym, his sending Simon Sodré with four sail to the Maldive Islands against some Moors who intercepted supplies for the fleet, chiefly coir rope. Barros also says that the Viceroy prepared a fleet to go to the Red Sea under his son Estevan, but he did not go since his father fell ill in the midst of these preparations.

Indian shores, as soon as he should have finished dispatching the ships to the kingdom. So he ordered four new caturs which had been built in the river of the Culymutis to be taken and brought to Cochym. These had been made of very sharp build, to row well, and every one praised them much, and he ordered them to be burned, saying that he would shew the Moors that we could build better caturs than theirs. After that he summoned Master Vyne, a Genoese, whom he had brought to build galleys, and he asked him if he could build vessels which would row faster than the paraos of the Malabars. He replied: "Sir, I will build you brigantines which would catch a mosquito for you." He at once set himself about this work, and made two brigantines after the Levantine fashion, which were finished in twenty days. The Viceroy then caused it to be proclaimed that to every Portuguese man who would row in the brigantine, sitting on the bench, he would pay him monthly his wages and provisions, and would give them freely all the goods above deck of all the ships they might overhaul by rowing; and besides they should have double shares of all the prizes along with the other people, and he would make them free of all other service in summer and winter, so that they should have no work except with their brigantine. Upon which so many mariners and ship-boys offered themselves, that there was a superabundance. Each of these rowers had under his bench a breast-plate and helmet of steel, and a lance and shield, and two pots of powder; because, on seeing the prize, they armed themselves, and put on the helmets, which glittered afar off, and on coming up with the prize they let go the oars, and took their spears and bucklers and powder-pots, which they cast on coming alongside, and there remained thirty armed men, who fought and could do much; so nothing escaped them either with oars, or sail, or fighting.

The Viceroy shewed himself very well disposed to warlike

men, and used to say that when he went to fight, he would not give the captaincies except to men who in war had shewn themselves as good soldiers; for he would give the honours of war to those who had won them with their right arms, and however low a man he might be, he would shew him more honour than to a gentleman Jew. This he used to say of many in public, for the Viceroy was very haughty in his speech; and he said that, whoever was not satisfied with that, he would give them leave to return to Portugal to eat what their fathers earned. He inspired everybody with great fear, especially the captains of the forts; for if he found them in fault he would chastise and execute them, and if they remained alive he would send them to the King, with the charges against them; because if they were bad, so also would be the officers of their fortress, and the officers of justice and the revenue, and then all together destroyed the people; because the injuries committed by the Moors sprang from the robberies which the captains committed upon them; and therefore no one should go to Portugal to escape from the evil which he had done in India during his time, because as he would chastise the great, the small men would be afraid. Therefore, whenever he found a man aggrieved or injured by the great, or by sentences wrongly given, he would redress it all, and chastise with strict justice; and he had no need of the gentlemen for fighting, but only for props, to set up one when another was rotten. And if any gentleman gave favour or shelter to any malefactor who took refuge in his house, and did not at once give him up to justice, he would send him in irons to the King, saying that he was a harbourer of malefactors; and if if any one gave to a malefactor the means of escape, the punishment which the malefactor would have undergone should be inflicted upon him. He ordered it to be proclaimed that in the case of officials of justice or revenue committing faults, he would change the civil penalties for

them into criminal chastisements. Thus in everything he shewed himself a strict minister of the service of the King and the good of the people, for the service of God and the good of India. He put into the captaincy of Cochym, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, who came with that appointment; and as D. Diogo de Lima had finished his term of service, and because he was poor, the Viceroy gave him a ship in which to go to Ormuz to make his profits; for the captains of Cochym and Goa, being under the eye of the governors, are not able to make such gains as the captains of the other fortresses, which are more removed from the information of the governors.

Dom Luis was aware that the King had received information against his brother the governor, and he knew by letters that the Viceroy was bringing harsh measures against him, and the Viceroy was all the worse on account of his roughness, as was shewn by the instructions which he had left at Chaul and Goa, without waiting till the governor gave up his office and accounts. As Dom Luis was very discreet, he sought to discover this matter; and with the thought that he might make it somewhat smoother with the Viceroy, when he went to visit him he used to turn the conversation and touch upon the affairs of his brother, in order to see if he could moderate matters so that the Viceroy should not conduct himself very rigorously with his brother. This the Viceroy well understood, and always spoke to him of the excellencies of strict justice, and shewed his intention of observing it rigidly; and he said that he had full powers to execute justice for all crimes, upon all persons who were within the Cape of Good Hope, without sending them to Portugal to be judged by the King, for he would execute justice upon the King's own brothers, if he had them in India. With these answers D. Luis was much vexed, for he knew that the Viceroy would have brought out from the King everything that he might have asked of him.

The Viceroy caused the ships to be laden with much expedition, and sent to Ceylon for cinnamon the two ships belonging to the warehouse, which the overseer of the treasury had bought for fetching cargo, as I before related, and which were well equipped and armed, and had masters and pilots, and did good service to the King. The Viceroy sent Duarte de Mello in one of these ships to be captain of Ceylon, and orders for the return of Fernan Gomes de Lemos, concerning whom he had received bad information, and whose time of service also was completed; and he prohibited them, under pain of death, from touching at any coast besides Cochym after leaving Ceylon.

CHAPTER IV.

Of what the Governor did in Ormuz, until he set sail for India and arrived at Cochym, where he found the Viceroy, and of what took place with him.

THE governor (D. Duarte de Meneses) made great profits in Ormuz upon the goods which he brought, because the brokers delivered them to the merchants at high prices, and made the payment of them obligatory, and there were other gifts and bribes, which the Resxarafo (Reis ul Sharafa) took from the people to give to the governor, to keep him in good humour. Whilst he was thus at Ormuz, there arrived there one Joan Gonzalves with letters from Dom Rodrigo, who was in the lands of the Prester, by which he urgently requested the governor to send him a vessel, because persons, who were Dom Luis and Heytor da Silveira, had come to the port of Masowah, and had not brought them away, because they were at some distance from the sea by order of the Prester, in order to be in greater security; on which account, on hearing a message from the

vessels, and travelling with much expedition, they were not able to arrive at the port within the time for which they had been summoned: the captains, therefore, had gone away without waiting for them, and the cause of this was that the vessels had arrived late at the port, when they could no longer wait for them. So that the two vessels went there for nothing, and caused great expense to the King. In order that this might not happen again, and they remain forgotten on account of other business that there might be in India, they all besought him, for the love of God, to remember them, and when he sent a vessel, that it might be with instructions not to delay on the way, and to arrive at Masowah in March, or as much sooner as was possible. Dom Rodrigo sent Joan Gonzalves with this letter because he knew many languages; and in the dress of a Moor, and in the company of merchants with their merchandise, he embarked in a Moorish ship, which was cast away on the coast of Fartaque in Badalcuria. He escaped from the wreck, and begging alms along with the other Moors who had been wrecked, he went as far as Maskat, and thence to Ormuz. The governor bestowed favours on him for his labours and hardships. He related to the governor all that had passed between Dom Rodrigo and the Prester. This I do not write here, because I will do it farther on, after D. Rodrigo's arrival; for there were some of his people who wrote it down, especially the Father Francisco Alvares, who took most care in writing in minute detail all that happened, from whom I had his book, from which I took the chief parts which seemed to me necessary for this history, and I did not take many minute details, because the reading was long, and later it was printed in the kingdom, and came printed to India.

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[Here follows an account of the journey of Baltasar Pessoa, who was sent by the governor from Ormuz to Shah

Ismail to complain of some of Shah Ismail's captains who had impeded caravans from coming to Ormuz. An account is given of a feast in the Shah's camp, and of his death a month later, and of the investiture a month after that of his nephew Xatamaz (Shah Tamasp). Pessoa got no answer, and returned to Ormuz after the governor had left for India.]

The governor, having finished collecting his goods and taken the measures that were requisite, departed from Ormuz and came to Maskat, and from thence sailed for India, making for the land above Dio, where he spread out the fleet, and waited some days for the ships from Mekkah, but none came. He then continued his voyage, passing by Dio at night, and went to Chaul, where he found Christovão de Sousa as captain, who at once sent out to meet him with refreshments, and a message that he would serve him in whatever he might command him as Dom Duarte, but in nothing as governor, for the Viceroy had given these orders; also that he was not to come on shore, but was to go to the Viceroy. Upon which Dom Duarte took in what he wanted, and departed, and went to Goa, where the captain, D. Anrique, sent him a similar message. Hector da Silveira went on shore to see D. Anrique, who begged him not to allow any of his crews to land, and to conduct them all to Cochym, for those were the orders the Viceroy had left. Dom Duarte remained at the bar six days doing his business; then he departed, and went to Baticala, where he remained at his leisure, buying goods for his chests for the kingdom, and articles for the voyage. Hector da Silveira, seeing that the governor would make many delays, so as not to arrive at Cochym except at a time when the ships would be already laden, so as at once to embark and depart for the kingdom, and that he said that he was not going to enter into disputes with the Viceroy, such as he would set on foot with him, since the Viceroy had come

out so sour (*verde*) that he had taken the governorship of India before he had given it up to him—Hector da Silveira, seeing this, asked his leave to go to Cochym. This the governor did not wish to grant to him; but Hector da Silveira repeated his request, saying that it was not reasonable that he should go on arranging his affairs very leisurely, whilst he had with him so many ships and crews, and was expending the King's stores. Upon this they debated. However, D. Duarte gave him permission to go, and dismissed the fleet for him to take it with him, retaining for himself five galleys with few seamen. Hector da Silveira arrived at Cochym with the whole fleet, and entered into the river with it. Making a great salute of artillery, he went on shore, accompanied by all his people and captains, and went to the church to offer up his prayers; he then went to the Viceroy in the fortress, who received him with much honour. He gave the Viceroy a long account of his voyage and of the peace with Aden; and the Viceroy replied that he had done well in all, except that he made a great mistake in leaving the brigantine and the Portuguese,[1] because the King of Aden was to be trusted with them for the crown of two thousand xafarins which he had given, by which means he had deceived him, since the King of Aden did not choose to be vassal even of the Grand Turk; and that he understood that the peace which he had made was only to save the ships which were in the port; and if Silveira had asked for ten thousand xafarins, he would have given them, and ten crowns of gold over and above; and that in everything he, and the captains who had counselled him, had been deceived. Upon which Hector da Silveira took to other subjects of conversation, because he saw that the Viceroy was cross with respect to a matter in which he thought that he had acted with much sagacity, and he was much afraid that the Viceroy would be still

[1] Silveira left a brigantine and twenty men for the revenue service of the King of Aden.

more angry with him when he learned that he had acted without the advice of his captains; and he found himself much embarrassed, and said nothing about it to anybody, but always accompanied the Viceroy a great deal, for he never went out of his house without finding Silveira at the door, accompanied by many people, for he kept a large table, and so did Dom Luis, where all the men of India used to meet, for so large a number of people did not eat at the table of the Viceroy.

The Viceroy was much occupied with the preparation of the cargo, and refitting the ships of the fleet and those which Hector da Silveira had brought, and with the preparation of a flotilla, for he had determined that as soon as he had dispatched the ships for the kingdom he would go and destroy Calecut and all the coast of India, so that there should not remain one Moor on land nor at sea; and with this design, and on account of other things which he found in India different from what he had expected, and on account of the affairs of Dom Duarte, he at once ordered a ship to be got ready to sail before the other ships with letters for the King, as soon as he saw Dom Duarte, who arrived at the bar of Cochym * *[1] of November, and anchored at the bar in the galloon *San Dinis*, in which he came, with three other galloons, and other vessels which entered the river with the sea-breeze.

Dom Duarte having arrived thus, the Viceroy sent Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, captain of Cochym, and with him Pero Barreto, whom he had made auditor-general, because João do Soyro was ill, and sent word to Dom Duarte not to come ashore, and at once to go over to the ship *Castello*, which was beginning to take in cargo, because he had to go to the kingdom a prisoner upon his parole that he would not

[1] A note in the Lisbon edition says the day of the month is wanting in the original; it seems that *ten* had been written and afterwards scratched out.

go out of it except in Lisbon, upon a message from the King, and that he was to go and put himself on board the ship, and in it give this pledge signed by himself; and the Viceroy sent him a copy of a section of his instructions which said this.[1]

[1] Barros says nothing of the disputes which took place between Gama and D. Duarte de Meneses, and only alludes to them in speaking of his illness, in addition to which, he says, Gama suffered from the "vexation which he felt on account of some matters of administration, and the delivery of the government by D. Duarte." Barros, however, describes Gama, who had begun to get ill before the arrival of D. Duarte, as drawing up a deed which was sworn to and signed by Affonso Mexia, the overseer of the revenue, and other persons: by this act Lopo Vaz de Sampayo was to serve as governor, in case of Gama's decease, until the arrival of the person named by the King for the succession. Barros adds that all this was done before D. Duarte had arrived from Ormuz to deliver up the governorship, which caused some gentlemen to have scruples with regard to this proceeding without the government being handed over as was customary. In justification of the course adopted by Gama, and his assumption of the government without waiting for its being handed over to him by D. Duarte, Barros gives the document of King John appointing Gama as Viceroy, dated Evora, February 25, 1524.

This document, in the name of the King, makes known to D. Duarte de Meneses, the captain-major and governor of India, that, as he had been informed by another letter, the King was pleased that he should return to the kingdom with this fleet, and deliver up the government to D. Vasco da Gama, the Viceroy: and he was not any longer to make use of the governorship nor affairs of justice and revenue, nor any other quality pertaining to that office. Therefore, the said Viceroy was at once to be put in possession of all power, etc., etc. Further we declare that during the time that you may be in India before embarking, you may remain in Cochim or in Cananor, whichever you please, and with respect to your servants, etc., etc., who went with you, and those of D. Luis your brother, etc., etc., the said Count (Vasco da Gama) shall not have jurisdiction, etc., etc., over them. Reserving, however, that if you or the others should be assigned, or cited, or sued, either in civil or criminal cases, by persons, also by either our natives or merchants of the country, etc., who should not be coming in the fleet in which you are to come, you or they may be sued before the said Count and auditor, who is to remain with him, and the suit shall not be before you, in order to fulfil justice. And if you should be out of India when the

These men went to the galloon, and Lopo Vaz gave the message to Dom Duarte, at which he shewed himself much

said Count arrives, in that case the Count shall at once use all power, jurisdiction, etc., etc., as he would do if he found you there and presented to you this letter for you to deliver up the government, etc. And if by impediment of sickness you, the said D. Duarte, cannot embark in this fleet, we are pleased that you and your servants, and your brother, etc., etc., should betake yourselves to the fortress of Cananor: and remain in it till your departure from India: and you shall use in it all the power, jurisdiction, etc., which you have as captain-major and governor of India, over them, and over the captain, alcaide, factor, and clerks, of the factory and fortress: and you shall hear and judge all their civil and criminal cases, without the said Count being able to use the power of Viceroy over the above-mentioned. And we order the captain, and alcaide, and factor, and clerks, etc., etc., of Cananor to obey you, etc. We are pleased that it should also be so understood in case you should be out of India in our service, and should return to it after the departure for these realms of the fleet which the Viceroy takes with him for bringing spices, and in which you are to return. Reserving, however, that the power, etc., which we give you over the aforesaid is not to be understood with respect to anything which touches our revenue and Indian trade; because you are not to deal with that, which remains with the Viceroy, etc. And of the delivery of the government to the Viceroy, you will take a public instrument, in which will be declared the ships and artillery, etc., and the forts and artillery, etc., which you deliver to him, etc., for us to be able to see it; and after this delivery you are freed from all obligation for the said government. Given in Evora. February 25. Bartholomeu Fernandez wrote it. Year 1524."

Barros also gives the document by which D. Duarte de Menescs received a public acknowledgment of having delivered up the government. It is dated Cochym, December fourth, 1524, and witnessed by Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, Fernan Martins de Sousa, D. Pedro de Castellobraneo, Affonso Mexia, overseer of the revenue, Pero Mascarenhas, the Licentiate Joan do Souro, auditor general: Joan Nunes, public writer, wrote it by special order of the Viceroy, and signed it with his public signature. Castanheda gives these two documents: he says D. Duarte called the auditor general a "bacharel."

According to the document given by Barros, Gama appears to have acted with more harshness and less courtesy towards his predecessor than the King's orders warranted; but he is somewhat justified by the statements of Correa, Castanheda, and San Roman, that D. Duarte de Meneses delayed giving up the government in the expectation that Gama would die, and that he would remain governor as before; also

affronted, and said to Lopo Vaz: "You ought not to be the bearer of this message, since that staff of justice, whom it seems you have brought to execute me, was sufficient and the fitting person for it: you ought to remember that my father made you a knight, and that you cannot therefore be against his affairs." Lopo Vaz replied that in doing what the King our sovereign commanded he would act against his own father, whose head he would cut off if it was commanded him, and that apart from the King's commands he would act as his honour required of him; therefore he entreated him to answer and obey what the King our sovereign commanded, and what he said to him on the King's behalf. To this Dom Duarte replied that he obeyed in everything, only that with regard to the vessel that was assigned to him, he had instructions in a contrary sense, which said that when he departed for the kingdom, he might select for his embarkation the ship which he pleased out of as many as there might be; and he said that as the King had not abrogated this instruction, the Viceroy ought to observe it, and not aggravate it, and that in the ship in which he embarked he would give the pledge which the King ordered. With this he dismissed them, and they returned on shore to give the message to the Viceroy; and D. Duarte got into a boat and went to look at all the ships which were taking in cargo, and was satisfied with the ship *San Jorge*, in which he at once remained, and sent to the

that D. Luis de Meneses, whilst appearing to occupy himself with preparations for his brother's journey, was looking out for an opportunity to place the government in the hands of his brother; and that by the enforced embarcation of D. Luiz, the rumours which began to spread were suppressed. Senhor Basto, the keeper of the Archives of the Torre do Tombo, has informed me that these two documents given by Barros are not to be found in those Archives. The recognition by Vasco da Gama of the delivery of the government, etc., by D. Duarte de Meneses, would be kept by him, though a copy might be preserved in the Archives of India.

galloon for his baggage, and took up his quarters in that ship.

Lopo Vaz gave the answer of D. Duarte to the Viceroy, at which he was much enraged, and as it was already late, he waited till next day to give orders for what was to be done; but as later it was told him that D. Duarte had gone and established himself with his baggage in the *San Jorge*, at this he lost his patience, and at once next day in the morning he sent the auditor to tell D. Duarte not to get himself into more trouble than what he was in already, that the instruction with regard to his embarkation would be good if he had been at liberty, but that since he was going under arrest, he was not to go except in the ship *Castello*, which he assigned to him as a prison, and in no other ship; therefore he was at once to go and put himself on board that ship, and there give the pledge, and if he did not obey the King's commands, he would then take such measures as he thought fit. To this Dom Duarte sent an answer that he might do as he pleased, and since he intended to use absolute power, he was well able to do so, for he had the knife and the cheese. The Viceroy, on hearing this answer, was much irritated, and said: "Dom Duarte has bad advice in the course he is following with me, and is placing himself in a position in which his misfortunes may become greater; for even though I were unreasonable, he would be acting with sagacity in obeying; and since he wishes to follow out his fancy, he will hear of me."

He then at once sent orders to the superintendent of the building yard to get ready two galloons, which were without yardarms and almost stripped of their rigging, which at night were equipped with artillery and gunners, and which had to go out of the river next morning, as they did go out; and in them the Viceroy sent the chief constable and the auditor-general, and he ordered them to anchor on both sides of the ship near the stern, and the auditor accompanied

by two notaries, was to go in a boat alongside the ship, and from outside of it was to require Dom Duarte on the part of the King to come ont at once, and go and place himself on board the ship *Castello;* and if he did not obey that, the notary was to draw np an act with a protest signed by witnesses; and he was then to repeat the requisition to him three times, and if he did not obey they were to shout to the ship's crew to come out, because they were going to sink it, and then having done this, they were to return to the galloons, and with the artillery send the ship to the bottom. He administered an oath to the auditor and chief constable to carry this out, and gave them his warrant for it.

This having been told to Dom Luiz, he went to the Viceroy and entreated him much as a favour not to conduct himself so rigoronsly with his brother, since he had not sold any of the King's fortresses; and the things ordered with such wrath, rather resembled hatred than any other good reason that there might be for it. The Viceroy answered him with mnch conrtesy, which he always nsed towards him, and said: "Senhor Dom Luiz, if your brother had sold fortresses, he would not have got his head where it now is, for I would have ordered it to be cut off, and yon should not have uttered that speech to me; neither did yonr brother ever annoy me, for me to feel hatred towards him, and do to him that which I ought not, neither shonld yonr worship say to me snch mistaken words, for, so God give me health, if I commit any error, it is in not doing all that I am obliged to do, and I act thus because I am yonr servant, and the King our sovereign is your friend. With respect to your brother, I was going to advise him, and to you as to a brother I also give the advice, that for the futnre he pay great obedience to the commands of the King, since np to this time he has observed them so ill in the governance of India that he is the scandal[1] of Portugal; and by obeying with gentleness

[1] O lnme, literally, the fire.

what the King commands, all will go well, because what I command is commanded by the King, and if he gives me some good answer on his behalf, perhaps I will do what is more for his interests, than what he could do for himself: and I tell you the truth, not in order that you should thank me for it, that for affection for you I am going much beyond what the King has ordered me, and I would show it you if I could." To this Dom Luis replied, but not with as much gentleness as the Viceroy desired: in the course of this they wrangled so much, that the Viceroy rose up and went to the door of the chamber, saying: "Senhor Dom Luis, go in peace, for I have already told you for my part many truths, and you little believe me, and think that you have all the reason on your side, and that I am the one who is mistaken; by which you are unthankful for what I could do, and which I do not do because I see you stand in my way." Dom Luiz wished to speak, but the Viceroy took off his barret-cap, saying; "Sir, do me the favour to let there be no more for to-day;" and he turned his back upon him, at which Dom Luiz was enraged, and said: "You do not choose to hear me. I trust in God that a time will come in which I also shall not choose to hear you. I will go to my brother, and whatever happens to him shall happen to me." Dom Luis went down the hall as he said this, and many heard him, and he went to his abode, accompanied by many people who used to eat with him.

These words which D. Luiz spoke were repeated to the Viceroy, at which he was greatly enraged, and ordered the captain of the fortress, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, at once to order Dom Luiz to embark, and not to remain another moment on shore, and not to allow any one to go with him, and he (the Viceroy) would remain at the window until he saw him put on board. Upon which Lopo Vaz de Sampayo went to the house of D. Luiz, who was sitting down to table to dine with the numerous persons who ate with him. He,

seeing Lopo Vaz, waited to see what he would say, and he, from the door, without coming inside, said to him : "Senhor Dom Lniz, the lord Viceroy commands that you should go with me to embark at once, and he remains at the window waiting until yon go on board." Dom Luiz with passion laughed, and said : "I am amazed that he did not send *biliguins*[1] to carry me off: all that he commands shall be done." Then asking for his cloak, he said : "Gentlemen, if they do not let you dine, I have ordered the dinner to be taken away, that it may not be lost ; and do you remain with the peace of God, since they take us away from eating this farewell dinner ;" and this he said with tears in his eyes. The gentlemen rose from the table to accompany him, which Lopo Vaz did not permit, and ordered on the part of the Viceroy that no one shonld leave the honse. This they all obeyed. D. Lniz alone, with two servants, went to the beach and got into a vessel (*tone*) which he found, and he went off to the ships, saying to Lopo Vaz : "Sir, say to the Viceroy that this kingdom is his, and later it will belong to another."

Dom Luiz, as he was very discreet, had never gone to see his brother since he had arrived, that the Viceroy might not think that the two took counsel together ; and on arriving at the ship he fonnd the auditor at the ship's side delivering the Viceroy's message to his brother, and D. Luiz said to him : "Sir auditor, in order that you may not cause the loss of this ship which belongs to the King, wait, aud I will deliver him up to you bound in irons, if you command it, and I will do everything to serve the lord Viceroy." He then entered the ship, and at the side the two embraced with many tears, D. Luiz saying to him : "My brother, I entreat you as a favonr to submit to this turn of fortune, since such is so certain amidst the pleasures of this life ;

[1] Bailiffs: Biliguim or Belleguim is an inferior officer of justice. This word has been in the Portuguese language since ancient times.

and at once let us go to the ship *Castello*, and this excommunication will not touch you, which the auditor is publishing against you, for the Viceroy is going beyond all bounds." Dom Duarte was a man not inclined to anger, and he answered him: "My brother, I feel more grief at your irritation than at the thunders of the Viceroy. Let us go to Portugal, and if God takes us there, what He pleases will happen." Upon which they went to the ship *Castello*, and D. Duarte said to the auditor: "Go in peace, and say to him who sent you here, that his will is done, and shall be done in this country, which is now his empire."

The next day the Viceroy sent Afonso Mexia, the overseer of the treasury, to Dom Duarte, with a minute requiring him to deliver up so many thousand pardaos belonging to the King, which he had received in such a place, and so many others in such another, and in such other, which made a great sum. D. Duarte replied to this, saying that the King had given him this factory in which he had received those so many thousand pardaos, and that he would go and give an account of them to His Highness. D. Duarte was afraid that the Viceroy would make some search in order to take away his money; on which account, as soon as he had arrived, he had put it in security, for it was a small sum, as the greater part he held in precious stones, in a casket full of rich gold stuffs, pearls, and jewellery, which were worth a large price. The whole was put inside a chest, and he secretly entrusted it to Bastião Pires, the vicar-general, who was his great friend and in his secrets; and along with him an old tutor, who had brought him up, who went at night in a boat of black Malabar men, and landed on the beach outside of the town; and the boat went away, and they two took the chest, and with an iron shovel, which they brought for the purpose, they made a hole in the sand, into which they put the chest, and on the top of the sand they placed a skull of an ox, and they took

the bearings by the monastery of Saint Antony, but not very exactly, as it was night, and they went away to sleep without anyone having seen them. The next day, after vespers, the vicar went for a walk on the beach, and saw very well where the skull was, for there was no other on the beach, and he took the bearings exactly with the wall of the monastery; and walking there with other clergy to amuse themselves, he struck with a javelin against the wall, and the others flung it also, so that there remained good marks upon the wall, and the priest intended to come at night with a spit, with which he would probe and feel for it, and find the chest. It appears probable that some one who passed by kicked the skull, so as to change its position from where it was, for when the priest came at night and put in the spit where the skull was, he did not find the chest; and he passed a great part of the night searching with the spit in all directions; and as neither he nor the tutor, who also searched with a spit, could find it, they underwent much labour in seeking for it every night; and the tutor, by daylight, walking about alone, searched with a javelin, which he stuck into the sand in all parts, taking the bearings of the monastery. After many days had passed, they fell in with it, when they were already despairing of finding it; for God did not choose that so great a treasure should be lost. This I heard related by the vicar-general himself.

The Viceroy prepared ships to cruise along the coast as a fleet, and as he did not find artillery in the magazines, he ordered proclamation to be made as in Goa, that any man who had any of the King's artillery should deliver it up freely to the magazine, under pain of death if he did not deliver it up, and it was found in his possession; and if any man should have bought it, and had proofs of it, he would order it to be paid for, and his money returned to him. By this means a large quantity of artillery was col-

lected, which the traders gave np, becanse they knew that their vessels would not be able to navigate, for there were many in Cochym which were drawn up on the beach, and rotted, and were lost, because D. Anriqne do Meneses, who was governor after Dom Vasco, in this and in many things followed his own conrse, as I will relate further on. As information was given to the Viceroy that in the division of the prize ship, Fernan Martins Avangelho, the factor of the fleet, had gone shares with the factor and clerks of the factory in that matter, he ordered them all to be brought prisoners to Cochym, with good bail; and he had very full inquiry made npon all the officials, saying that he wonld learn by what devices they enriched themselves; and he went on examining diligently into other evils, so that without any doubt he put India into a very straight road for the good of the King's service, and for the good of the people, and, above all, very strict justice, which had become much perverted.

For some days the Viceroy had been suffering from great pains in the neck, which had got awry, and some boils came to the surface at the nape of the neck, but very hard, and they wonld not ripen for all the remedies that were applied, for nothing availed, and they gave him such great torment that they did not allow him to turn his face in any direction. At this the Viceroy was subject to great fits of irritation, with the heavy cares which he felt on account of the many things which he had got to do, so that his illness was doubled, and went on getting worse nntil he altogether took to his bed, and from thence gave all the necessary orders, with great travail of spirit, which caused him to be overtaken by mortal illness, with such pains as deprived him of speech. In this affliction he sent Lopo Vaz the captain, and the Doctor Pero Nunes, and Afonso Mexia, and the auditor, with Vicente Pegado the secretary, to go to Dom Duarte with a deed of acknowledgment, made out by the secretary,

of how he had received India from him, and that he had delivered it up.

These persons went to Dom Duarte and told him this; but he, who knew already in what state the Viceroy was, and was of opinion that if the Viceroy died he should remain in his government, as it was in his possession and no one had taken him out of it, with these thoughts replied that it was not the custom for governors to deliver up their governorship and accounts at sea, as he was, but, on the contrary, at the gate of the fortress; that he was ready to go and deliver it up at once, but that he was not going to do it in any other manner. They sent word to the Viceroy of this message, and he replied by a letter which he sent to Doctor Pero Nunes, that he was to tell Dom Duarte that he was a prisoner, and would not leave that ship except by order of the King in Portugal, and therefore he was not going to come on shore; and that they were to give him the acknowledgment of the delivery of India, if he chose to take it, because the Viceroy looked upon India as having been delivered up by him; and although he should not deliver it up, yet not on that account would things turn out as he imagined, for this message would undeceive him, and his expectation would become vain; after that the messengers were to return on shore, and they did return. The Viceroy commanded that a public act should be drawn up concerning all this by the secretary, in which all attested this which had passed between them and D. Duarte,[1] and the Viceroy kept it.

[1] Correa relates the voyage home of D. Duarte and of his brother D. Luis, who went in another ship, and kept great watch over D. Duarte, as he feared that he might go to Castile or to France; on arriving at Mozambique, they obtained news by the ships from Portugal that D. Duarte's affairs were not in so bad a state as he feared; they left Mozambique together, and passing the Cape D. Duarte said he would take in water at Saldanha, and that D. Luis should wait for him at the island of St. Helena. D. Luis went on, and it was supposed he was

CHAPTER V.

Of the death of the Viceroy, and of what he did and ordered before his death, and how he was buried.

The Viceroy, feeling that he was ill, spoke secretly at night to the guardian of St. Antony, who was his confessor, with whom he consulted; and at this conjuncture there arrived at Cochym the ships and vessel from Ceylon with the cinnamon, which was transferred from them into the ships bound for the kingdom, which were now almost laden, and the Viceroy hurried this on. He despatched at once the vessel to the kingdom with his letters; Francisco de Mendonça went as captain of it, and he sailed on the first of December.

Fernan Gomes de Lemos, who had been captain there (in

lost in a storm in which D. Duarte also was nearly wrecked. But in the year 1536 Diogo da Silveira captured a French pirate, the brother of a pirate who had taken D. Luis' ship, and he confessed that they had killed D. Luis and the crew of his ship, which was near foundering, and had plundered the ship and set fire to it with its crew. D. Diogo then cut off the hands of the pirate's crew and burned them in their ship; for which afterwards the French pirates committed great cruelties on the Portuguese. D. Duarte made the coast of Algarve, and anchored at Farão, and buried his money safely; he then would not go to Lisbon, but went to Cezimbra and landed with his goods, and ordered the ship to return to Lisbon; but a storm came and drove the ship on shore with the cables broken, or, as some said, cut at night in order that it might be supposed D. Duarte's money was lost there. The King was much enraged at the loss of the ship, and D. Duarte was put in prison at Torres Vedras for many years. The King tried in vain to find his money at Farão, and at length, through the intercession of Count Castanheira, D. Duarte was set at liberty and restored to his captaincy of Tangiers: and they never found his money for which he had suffered so much. This Correa wrote from hearsay as related by those who came from the kingdom, and (he says) all may be lies, like all things in this world except to love the Lord God.

Coylon), came in the cinnamon ship. The Viceroy had information of him that he was an evil liver, quarrelsome, and fond of divisions, reckless in doing evil. He had committed iniquities in Ceylon, and a man named Ganchinho by nickname had demanded justice of him from the Viceroy, for he had cut off his arm at the elbow, and he was maimed. So when the ship reached the bar he sent thither the auditor general to take from him a pledge signed to the effect that he would not leave the ship without his commands; and if he would not give such a pledge, the auditor was to bring him as a prisoner, and shut him up in irons in the fortress, and collect the depositions which came from Ceylon: and this was done.

The Viceroy, feeling his death approaching, passed from the fortress to the houses of Diogo Pereira, which were close by in the court of the church. There he summoned Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, and Afonso Mexia, the overseer of the revenue, with the secretary, from whom he took their parole under an oath to fulfil entirely what he should command them, until the governor who might succeed him commanded the contrary. The secretary drew up an act of this promise, which they signed. The Viceroy then dismissed them, and made a minute by which he ordered them not to stir nor undo anything of what he had done, but rather that both of them should do everything, and despatch everything both in matters of justice and revenue, and at his death, when the succession was opened, they were to deliver up everything into the hands of the governor whom they should find named therein, with a box of papers belonging to the King, which his son Dom Estevan would deliver to them. In these minutes[1] he gave all the regulations for what they had to do until they gave way to the governor who might succeed.

[1] Probably this was the document stolen from the grandfather of the present Marquis of Niza. See Introduction.

Having done this, he did not attend to anything else, but only confessed and took the holy sacrament, with much perfection as a Catholic Christian; and he made his testament, by which he ordered his sons to return in those ships to the kingdom, and to take away all his goods, and sell nothing, and to take away all his servants; and those who wished to remain, they were to pay them all their pay due from the King for the services which they had rendered; and they were to give all his clothes and household furniture of silk to the churches and hospital; and he sent to the women whom he had ordered to be flogged at Goa, a hundred thousand reis for each one, which were to be given them with much secrecy, and if they should not choose to accept them, this sum was to be doubled, and given to the house of Holy Mercy. These women, with this money, found good husbands, and were married, and became honest women. He set his affairs in order like a good Christian, with all the sacraments of the Church, and ordered that his bones should be conveyed to the kingdom, as they were conveyed later;[1] and speaking always with his full understanding, he fulfilled his days when he delivered up his soul in the night of Christmas of the holy birth of Christ, at three o'clock after midnight, on the twenty-fourth day of December of this present year of 1524.[2] God be praised.

His death was kept silent, without weeping and lamentations, and the doors were closed all the day till the hour of Ave Maria, when everything was ready. Then his sons and servants gave the signal of his death with very great lamentations; upon which many gentlemen, his relations and

[1] Vasco da Gama's remains were removed to Portugal in 1538 (not 1528, as the *Univers Pittoresque* has it), and buried in his tomb in the town of Vidigueira, of which he was Count.

[2] Castanheda, Barros, and San Roman agree in the date of Gama's death, eve of Christmas 1524.

friends, came in to assist them; and soon after all the people of the city came together in the court of the church, and each one shewed what he felt.

The body, dressed in silk clothes, and over them a mantle of the Order of Christ, with a sword and gilded belt, and gilt spurs fixed upon dark buskins, and on its head a dark round barret-cap, was placed in the hall, in the bier of the brotherhood of Mercy, uncovered; and the gentlemen, clothed in the mantles of their order, bore it on their shoulders, with many tapers, and followed by all the people. It was carried to the monastery of St. Antony,[1] and buried in the principal chapel; and upon the tomb was a square grating surrounding the grave, of the height of a span, lined with black velvet, and a black and white fringe, placed upon a velvet cloth, which covered all the grave. There the next day a great service was performed, and all the gentlemen were present, and his sons were placed amongst the friars, and at night they betook themselves to the monastery and made their lamentations, as was reasonable on losing so honoured a father, and of such great desert in the kingdom of Portugal. For it pleased the Lord to give this man so strong a spirit, that without any human fear he passed through so many perils of death during the discovery of India, as is related in his history; all for the love of the Lord, for the great increase of his Catholic faith, and for the great honour and glory and ennobling of Portugal, which God increased by His holy mercy to the state in which it now is; and in order to have some merit from the Lord, for the salvation of the soul of the Viceroy, for the good desires with which he laboured in the affairs of the

[1] So also says Pedro Barreto de Resende; Barros and San Roman call it the monastery of St. Francis; Castanheda says the cathedral of Cochym. An article of the Boletim do Governo, Goa, December 21, 1858, on the subject of Gama's tomb, says he was buried in the principal chapel of the church of the Franciscan monastery of Cochym.

wonderful discovery of India, which it pleased the Lord should be done by him; where now are dedicated to His holy praise so many monasteries and churches, and where there are so many new Christian communities of so many souls which have been turned to the true knowledge of the salvation by our holy faith, as we see at the present day, and every day will be with greater increase, by His holy goodness and mercy.

The sons of the Viceroy, Dom Estevan and Dom Paulo, collected together his servants, and fulfilled entirely their father's commands, and both went to the kingdom in the ship of a merchant, and were received with great honour by the King, who shewed much grief for the death of their father, for the great loss which he sustained by the death of of so good a vassal, from whom he hoped to receive such good services.

[1] The cathedral in which Vasco da Gama was buried no longer exists: it was destroyed in the manner described in the following extract from the private journal of Mr. Chisholm Anstey, who visited Cochim, November 9, 1857.

"The harbour of Cochim exceeds my expectation....If it were not for the bar of shifting sand it would be one of the finest in the known world: as it is, even, it will be hard to match it in India. The deepest water is inside, just where the wonderful chain of inland navigation called the 'backwater' finds one of its outlets to the sea. By means of that chain Cochim has not only smooth and safe access to the Ghats eastward and to the Carnatic, but northward to the Goa territories, and southward through Travancore to Cape Comorin....I was agreeably surprised with the appearance of the town. It is not that the destruction was less complete than the Vandals of Leadenhall Street designed. On the contrary, it is hard to imagine a more faithful and exact performance of the will of a superior than was rendered here in 1806 by the Company's Proconsuls to their intelligent and honourable masters. The stupendous quays, shattered into enormous masses by the Company's mines of gunpowder, still encumber the anchorages, and make embarkation and disembarkation difficult. Not a vestige remains of most of the public buildings. The magnificent warehouses of the Dutch East India Company, which won admiration from the rest of the world, and envy from our own Company, were the first to be sprung into the air. There

is a solitary tower left—the 'Flagstaff' they call it now—to tell where stood the cathedral of Cochim, and where the body of Vasco da Gama was buried. His grave has been defiled by us, and its very place is now forgotten. 'You are within fifty yards of it, but on which side I cannot say'—was the only indication which a well-read and careful investigator of local antiquities—himself a resident here for some years past—could give me of the whereabouts of him who opened the Indian Ocean to *our* commerce—to *all* commerce. One church—diverted from the Portuguese to the Dutch worship, and from the latter to the English Protestant establishment—is the only one which the Company's Guy Fauxes were pleased to spare. That too is the only building left us whereby to justify our faith in the chronicles which record tho ancient wealth and splendour of Cochim." The journal then goes on to state that Cochim came into British hands in 1796, the British being tho allies of the Stadtholder; and in 1806 it was feared that tho ministry of Charles James Fox might restore Cochim and other Dutch colonies to Holland, and so the only port south of Bombay where large ships could be bnilt would be withdrawn from the East India Company. "So in that year the British authorities gave the word to blow np with gunpowder the fortifications, public buildings, etc., etc., and great was the Company of Guy Faux: great also the success. The Company's gazetteers are still ablo to record that not only war and trade and government were made impossible, but animal life itself. 'Scarcely a private house,' we are told, 'of any size or value remained standing:' all who could do so 'left the place;' 'all who could not,' it is coolly added, 'sunk into abject beggary, though some formerly possessed titles, and held high rank and station.'...Really it cheers one to think that there is a complaisance which can chronicle such things, and not be ashamed! Still, in its ruins it is inviting enough: were it not for the misery of the indigent, which its now renascent trade will in time extinguish. One can trace out the ruins for a mile square from the sea, even beneath the forest growth and herbage....Now that free trade and liberty of the press have wrested (1851), tardily enough, from Leadenhall Street the bare permission to those who will to go ont and live at Cochim, and trade there if they can, there are signs of life even amongst these ruins....In this wretched fishing village, for in 1851 it was no better, there are already now in 1857 seventeen thriving mercantile establishments; amongst them all they exported last year from Cochim not less than £600,000 sterling worth of Cochim and Travancore produce....The Company has suffered the backwater navigation to fall into ruin. But all is of a piece with the policy which sprung the mines of 1806 npon the wharves and magazines of the same commerce. I could not help reflecting thus as to-day I saw the *Persian*, a ship of more than 700 tons, lying off one of the ruined quays to which she was moored, and which, albeit in ruins, was

still so useful that the cargo could be carried on board along a foot-plank withont the need of a boat. And lastly, the Cochim policy of the Company is of a piece with their Carnatic policy. Where are the 52,000 stupendous tanks which once irrigated the then fertile but now famine-stricken Carnatic, so near a neighbour to this place? All ruined, dry, choked up! And it has become the necessary work of a small body of philanthropists to commence an agitation in England, to persuade or compel the Madras government not to deprive the people of the means of restoring those lost irrigation works, or replacing them upon as grand a scale from Cavery, Godavery, and other rivers now neglected, and alike useless to the carrier as to the husbandman.'"

Thornton, McCulloch, and the French Geog. Dict. of Guibert agree in stating that this destruction took place in 1806, but no trace of it is to be found in the India Office or Admiralty Indexes. Thornton's *Gazetteer* contains most information on the subject, and refers to Edye's *Description of the Seaports of Malabar*, a book which I have been unable to find. It is not surprising after the destruction above described that, two years later in 1808, when "it was reported that a French force would land on the coast of Malabar in the conrse of January, in anticipation of this event, the Dewan (or minister of the Raja of Cochim) urged the Raja of Cochim to prepare to unite himself with the Travancorians and French for the purpose of expelling the English from the country." Thornton, *Hist. of India*, vol. iv, p. 119.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

PORTUGUESE DOCUMENTS.

[Excepting the first, these documents have not before been published; some of them are printed with abbreviations and line for line as they stood in the original manuscript.]

APPENDIX.

Statement by Dom Manuel of services rendered by Vasco da Gama and donations granted to him.

[This document has been taken from the Appendix after p. 165 of the *Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama por A. Herculano e o Barão do Castello de Paiva.* Lisbon, 1861].

Dom Manuel por graça de Deus Rey de purtugal e dos algarves daquem e dalem maar em affrica Senhor de guinee e da comquista navegação comercio detyopia arabya persya e da imdia. A quamtos esta nosa carta virem fazemos saber que semdo pello yfante dom amrrique meu tyo começado o descobrymento da terra de g^ee (guinee) Na era de myl iiij^c xxxiij com tencã e desejo de pella costa da dita terra de guynee se aver de descobryr e achar a Imdia a qual atee os tempos dagora numca per ella foy sabida, nom somente a preposyto de a estes Reynos se seguyr grande fama e proveyto das muytas Riquezas que nella ha, as quaes sempre Pellos mouros foram poseydas, mas Por que a fee de noso señor por mais partes fosse espalhada o seu nome conhescido E despois el Rey dom afonso meu tio e el Rey dom Joam seu filho queremdo com os mesmos desejos proseguyr a dita obra com asaz mortes e despesas em seu tempo ate ho Ryo do Ifante foy descuberto no ano de iiij^c lxxxij[1] q̄ sam mil viii^c lxxxv ligoas dhomde primeiro se começou a descobryr E nos com o mesmo desejo queremdo conseguyr a obra que ho dito Ifante e Rex nossos amtecessores tynham começada, comfyamdo que V^co da gama fidallguo de nosa casa era tal que por o que compre a noso serviço o em comprimento de noso mandado pospoerya todo

[1] It is stated in a note in the *Roteiro* that this date is erroneous and that it is so written in all the copies.

perigo de sua pessoa e arryscamento de sua vida o emviamos com nosa armada por capitão moõr della emviamdo com elle paullo da gama seu Irmaão e Nycolao coelho yso mesmo fidallguo de nosa casa a buscar a dita Imdya, na qual viagem nos ele asy servyo que homdẹ em tantos anos que avia que ho descobrym^{to} era começado e a elle muytos capitaes emvyados e se descobriram as ditas mviiilxxxv legoas, ele nesta ssoo viajem descobrio mill v^{c}L legoas homde yso mesmo descobryo huũa grande myna douro e m^{tas} (muitas) villas e cidades muy ricas e de grandes trantos e em fym de seu descobrymẽto achou e descobryo a India que per todo los exrytores que ho mundo s'preveram sobre todas as provyncias delle esta de Rica poseram, a qúal todolos emperadores e gramdes Rex que no mundo foram ssobre todas esta dessejaram e sobre a qual tantas despessas deste reyno foram fetas e nom menos mortes de capytaes e outros jentes e nam somente de todos reis desejadas de possoyr mas de sse ver o qual descobrymẽto e obra de tamtos tempos começada ele acabou nõ com menos mais cõ mais mortes de homẽs despassas e perygos de sua pessoa do que pellos outros foy começada e comtynuada morremdo na dita viajẽ Paullo da gama seu Irmão e asy a metade da jente que em toda a dita armada emviamos, pasamdo nella muytos perigos asy pella viajem ser muy lomga que pasou de dous annos como tambem por nos fazer mais verdadeira enformacã da terra e cousas della. E veimdo nos o muyto serviçoque á mos e á nosos reynos na dita viajem e descobrymento fez e gramde proveyto que nam ssomente a elles ditos nosos reynos mas a toda a christamdade sse pode seguyr e daneficamento que aos ynfyes se espera por atee o tempo dagora terem o logramento da dita yndia e mais principalmente pelo muyto serviço que ha noso señor esperamos que se ssiga por todas as jemtes da dita ymdia parecer que lyjeramente se podran trazer a verdadeiro conhecimento de sua santa fee pello muyto que ja de la tem

allguũs deles serem e estarem nela ymteiramente confyrmados, queremdo lhe em allguũa parte gallardoar o muyto que nos nysto tem servido como todo principe deve fazer a queles que asy gramdemente e bem o servem. E por lhe fazer mos graça e merce de noso moto propio liure vomtade certa cyemcia poder rreal e absoluto sem nollo elle pedyr nem outrem por ele, lhe ffazemos pura[1] livre e imrrevogavel doaçam deste dya pera todo sempre antre vivos valedoyra, de trezemtos mill reis de rremda em cada huum anno de juro e herdade pera elle e todos seus descemdentes e em parte de pago delles lhe damos ha dizyma nova do pescado da villa de synes e de villa nova de mill fomtes asy e pella maneira que ella á nós e á coroa do rregnno pertemce e ao dyamto pertemcer pode em preço e contya de sasemta mill reis que hachamos que val cadanno, e posto que ao dyamte mais creça será pera elle e pera seus herdeiros e se menos valer nós nom seremos hobrygado a lho eompoer, a quall dizima de nós tynha dom martynho de castel bramquo veedor de nosa ffazemda e nolla leixou pera a darmos ao dito vasco da gama e a elle demos satisfaçam della em outra parto, e asy lhe damos e queremos que aja polas nosas sysas da dita villa de synes cemto e trymta mill reis em cada huum anno que he o preço que rrazoadamente as ditas sysas hora valem; das quaees sysas queremos e mandamos que se nom faça nenhuma despesa que seja asy pera nós como pera noso asemtamento nem pera outra nenhuma cousa per especiall que seja atee ele seer acabado de pagar da copya dos ditos cemto e trymta mill reis, e ho que mays crecer ho nosso almoxarife ho rrecadará pera nós e se menos rremder ho que ffalecer avera pollas nosas sysas de samtiago de cacem, e ele pohera de sua mão rrecebedor na dita villa de synes que rreceba e rrecade hos ditos cemto e trimta mill reis. E acomtecemdo de os rremdeiros que forem das sysas della

[1] Here ends a copy of this document contained in the *Torre do Tombo*, Parte 3ª, Maço 1, Doc. 9.

perderem ou nom quererem pagar como saão obrigados então nos praz que elle dito vasco da gama ou sseus herdeiros ou seu rrecebedor posa costranger e ixecutar os ditos rremdeiros pollo que hasy deverem atee eles per emcheo sem quebra serem paguos da dita copya asy como farya ho nosso almoxarife arrecadamdo pera nos has ditas sysas, ho quall lhe emtregará pera yso suas fyamças e elles poderâm apellar ou agravar pera ho nosso comtador ou pera nosa fazemda sse nyso semtyrem serem agravados. E pera esta pagua ser mays certa e segura nós nom faremos nenhuma quyta aos rremdeiros das ditas sysas em caso que perquam nellas. Outrosy lhe damos e queremos que aja elle e asy seus descendentes pollas nosas sysas da dita villa de samtiago quoremta mill reis em cada huum anno hos quaaes averám e lhe serám pagos pollo noso rrecebedor dellas aos quartees do anno per emcheo sem neles aver quebra paguamdolhe primeiro seu quartel que outra nenhuma despesa que faça e asy de quartel em quartel teo fym do anno. E asy mesmo lhe pagará aos quartees sem quebra polla dita maneira qualquer dinheiro que lhe falecese em a dita villa de synes pera comprymento dos cemto e trymta mill reis levamdo certydão do noso comtador de beja da comtya que quebrou nas ditas sysas de synes. Ao quall mamdamos que tanto que elas forem arremdadas e souber o que asy nelas ha de quebra lhe dee logo a dita certidão e o dito rrecebedor cobrará sseus conhecimentos e os dará em comta ao nosso almoxarife ou rrecebedor da dita villa de beja, ao qual mandamos per esta que lhos rreceba. E qnamto he aos setemta mill reis que falecem pera comprimento dos ditos trezentos mill reis lhe mandamos logo dar e asemtar asy de juro e derdade em a casa do paço da madeira desta cidade de lixboa, e ouve dello nosa carta patemte. E per esta mandamos aos ditos nosso allmoxarife e comtador de beja que ho metão logo em pose da dita dizima do pescado de synes e lha leixem ther lograr e pesuir e rremdar e arrecadar

como lhe prouuer e asy lhe leixem aver rreceber e arrecadar pera sy em cada huum anno a elle e a todos seus herdeiros deseemdentes deste janeyro que ora passou da era de mill e quinhemtos em dyante pollas ditas sysas de synes hos ditos cemto e trynta mill reis na maneyra que dito he per esta soo carta sem mais tyrar outra de nosa fazemda, e por ho trelado della que fyeará rregistado no liuro do dito allmoxarifado lhe seram levados em despesa os ditos cemto e trimta mill reis de synes e asy hos coremta mill reis que ha daver em samtyaguo. Outro sy ho fazemos almiramte da dita Imdya com todalas homrras priminencias liberdades poder jurdyçam rremdas foros e direytos que com ho dito almiramtado per direito deve aver e as tem ho nosso almiramte destes rregnos segumdo mais compridamente se contem em seu rregymento, as quaaes rremdas e direitos se emtemderâm dos lugares e terras que a nosso senhor aprouver della vyrem e estarem a nosa obydyencya. Outro sy nos praz e lhe outorgamos e lhe fazemos doaçam e merce de juro e derdade deste dia pera todo sempre que nunca em tempo alguum posa seer rrevogado que ho dito vasco da gama e todos seus deseemdentes que herdarem e ouverem hos ditos trezemtos mill rreis de rrenda em cada vyagem que emvyarmos navyos a dita Imdya, emtemdendose cada anno huma vez, posam mamdar nelles duzemtos cruzados e trazellos nas mercadorias que lhe aprouver sem delas nos pagar outro direito nem tributo alguum salvo pagar a vymtenua ha hordem de christo. E mandamos aos nossos capytaães e feitores que lá forem que lhe levem hos ditos duzemtos cruzados o os tragam empreguados nas ditas mercadoryas. E bem asy o ffazemos a ele dito vasco da gama de dom, e por seu respeito yso mesmo queremos e nos praz que ayres da guama e tareyja da gama seus irmaãos sejam de dom e se posam todos daquy em dyante chamar de dom e asy seus fylhos e netos e todos aqueles que deles descenderem. A qual doaçam lhe asy fazemos deste dya pera todo sempre de juro e derdade como

dito he sem embarguo de quaesquer leix hordenações direitos canonycos e cyucs grosas foros custnmes opynyões de doutores capytollos de cortes e cousas que comtra esto sejam ou ao dyamte posam seer feytas, as quaees todas e cada huma dellas aquy avemos por expresas e decraradas e por de nenhum efeyto e vygor. E queremos e mandamos que esta nosa carta de doaçam tenha e valha asy e tam comprydamente como nella he comtheudo e prometemos por nos e nossos socesores que apos nos ham de viir de numca hyrmos comtra ella em parte nem em todo amtes ha fazermos sempre compryr e mamter como nella he contheudo; e asy rrogamos e emcomendamos aos nossos sobcessores por nosa bemçam que numca comtra ella vaão em parte nem em todo amtes ha façam asy compryr e manter como nella he decrarado por quamto asy he nosa merce. Outro sy queremos e mandamos que os herdeiros do dito vasco da guama que esta mercē ouverem derdar se chamem da gama por lembrança e memorya do dito vasco da gama e em testemunho e por fyrmeza de todo lho mandamos dar esta nosa carta per nos asynada e aselada de nosso selo pemdente. Dada em a nosa cydade de lixbooa a dez dias do mes de janeiro: guaspar rroddriguez a fez anno de nosso senhor Jhesu Christo de mill e quinhemtos e dous.

Liv. iii de D. Joao III, fol. 166.

ROYAL ORDER EXEMPTING VASCO DA GAMA FROM PAYMENT OF CHANCERY DUES ON HIS APPOINTMENT AS VICEROY. FROM THE TORRE DO TOMBO.

xxiij iiij.

oficiaes da nosa chria. A nos pꝫ que o qde da Vidigra almiramte das yndias nom pague os dez marcos de prata nem outro nenhuũ drr̃to da chamcelria q' lho pertemcia paguar da carta do poder que lhe damos ꝑa a Imdia pq' asy o avemos por bem e mandamos aos nosos q'tadores q' se o que nysto montar se caregar e recepta sobre o ror da dita chria lho levẽ ꝑ este ẽ q'ta feyto ẽ evora a xij de mço mel de moura o fez de ve xxiiijo.

REY - ⁝ -

(*At the foot of the page.*)

ho cõde

pꝫ a vosa alteza qo q'de da Vidigra no pague os x mcos de pta nẽ outo nenhũ drr̃to da chria q' lhe ꝑtencia pagar da carta do poder q' lhe dais ꝑa a Imdia e q' se leve ẽ q'ta ao Rr o q' nysto mõtar se sobre ele se carregar ẽ rta.

(*At the back of the page.*)

L' aueiros.

ficam caregados em Recepta sobre
fo Roĩz Ror da chamcela vymte
o tres mill e q'to cemtos r's q' se
mõta ẽ x marcos de prata do oficio
de viso rey e capitã moõr da Imdia
as lrvi (96) fsa e por certidã delo fiz
e asyney esto feto ẽ eua aos xij d's
do mes do março de mill e vcxxiiijo.

Po GOMEZ.

FORM IN WHICH VASCO DA GAMA DID HOMAGE TO KING JOHN III ON BEING APPOINTED VICEROY OF INDIA. TORRE DO TOMBO, CORPO CHRONOLOGICO, PART I, MAÇO 30, DOC. 90.

Em euora a xxviii dias do mes de feuereiro do anno de mill v^c^xxiiii nos paços d' el Rey noso senñor dom vasquo da gama Comde da vidigueira almirante da Imdia que ora o dito senñor emvia por seu viso rey as partes da Imdia e pera nella ficar por capitam moōr e gouernador das ditas partes, fez preyto e menagem a sua allteza pella dita capitania moōr e governança na maneira seguinte:

Muyto alto muito eixcelente principe e muito poderoso Rey dom Joham meu verdadeiro e naturall Rey e s'or. Eu dom Vasquo da gama, comde da Vidigueira almirante da Imdia que ora vosa allteza emcarega de voso viso Rey capitam mor e gouernador nas partes da Imdia vos faço preito e menagem pella dita capitanya moōr e gouernança. E vos prometo que vos acolherey e Receberey em todas as fortelezas que na Imdia e fora della tendes e ao diamte teuerdes, e em cada hũa delas no alto e no baixo irado e paguado[1] com poucos e com muytos, imdo vos em vosso liure poder e farey guerra e manterey paz e treguoa a quem vos s'or me mandardes. E nam entreguarey a dita capitania moōr e guovernamça, nem as ditas fortelezas e cada huũa delas e armadas de naãos e navios de vosa alteza, nem nenhuũa outra cousa que como voso capitam mōr e guovernador das ditas partes a meu carreguo esteuerem, saluo a quem vos señnor me maındardes e me apresemtar vosa carta por vos

[1] *Irado e paguado.* Paguado for pagado; Latin *pacatus*, opposed to irado; fortresses in a peaceful and in a revolted state; form of plighting homage. *Vide* Ordenação Manuelina, liv. i, t. 56, § 4.

asinada e aselada do voso selo redomdo das vosas armas. E sendo caso que alguũs capitaẽs das ditas fortelezas tyre e ponha nelas outros por asy o aver por voso seruiço, aqueles que asy poser tomarey em voso nome fee preito e menagem por as ditas fortelezas, asy como hee custume de vosos Regnos se tomarem as ditas menagẽes. E vos prometo e dou minha fee preito e menagem que em todo o que tocar ao dito carreguo de capitam moōr e guovernador vos sirua fiel e verdadeira e lealmente asy como devo e sam obriguado o fazer a meu verdadeiro e naturall Rey e senñor em boõa fee sem malicia emguano arte cautella nem fimgimento alguũ. A quall fee preito e menagem vos faço huũa duas tres vezes segumdo foro uso e custume destes vosos Regnos. E por certidam disso asyney este por minha maão testemunhas que a ello foram presentes o comde do vemioso e bertolameu de payua amo de sua allteza e eu o secretario que esta fiz spreuer e aquy sobspreuy no dito dia mes e era sobre dita.

Ho conde do vymyoso. Ho comde almirante. Bertolameu de paiua.[1]

[1] A facsimile of these signatures is given in the plate: this signature of Vasco da Gama is about the only one extant.

Letter of the Chamber of Goa to King John III, dated Oct. 31, 1524, announcing the arrival of Vasco da Gama as Viceroy. From the Torre do Tombo.

per luys Fřz[1] colaço que a vosa alteza tinhamos emviado por precurador nos ffoy dado a reposta das cartas que desta cidade levou e asy a comffyrmação de nossos privilegios com o despacho dos apomtamẽtos e asy a sancã do estorm^to^ dos officios, todo bem despachado como esperavamos, e por todo beigamos as maaos a vosa Alteza, e não podemos negar que o amor e boa võtade que o s^or^ vosso padre que santa gloria ajaa tinha a esta cidade e aos moradores dela he esquecido segũdo vemos polas muytas merces que nos ffaz, asy em nossos despachos como emtodo o mais que por nosa parte lhe he pidido, e sempre nos e nossos ff^os^ rrogaremos e pidymos ao s^or^ d^s^ que os d^s^ (dias) e estado rreal de vosa alteza acrecemte a seu s^er^viço.
ho comde da Vidig^ra^ chegou a esta cidade aos xxiij d^s^ de set^ro^ da era presente de v^c^xxiiij com nove velas, dizem que ffaltam cinquo pera o comto das que de la partiram com ele, parece nos que vem com boaa temção e desejoso de servir vosa alteza e ffazer justiça as partes q̃ muito cõpre nesta trã, polo que vymos que nesta cidade ffez eses poucos dias que nela esteve em desagravar muitas pessoas, e alimpar erros de vosa ffaz^enda^ que heram ffetos, ffoi rrecebido de nos nesta cidade com aquela honra que merecem os que amão a justiça e cũpre vossos mandados Apresentamos lhe nossos p^ri^vilegios e liberdades, em todo dise que os cõpriria como por vosa

[1] Fernandez.

alteza nos he outorguado, e polo pouco t'po que esteve nesta cidade não pode despachar alguũas cousas que lhe rrequerimos e por se achegar o t'po de ffazer a carga da pimenta, nẽ quis tomar conhecimto de muitas cousas que ffiquam pera sua vinda e a segdo qua socedem as cousas nam lhe compre repousar o que ele traz por carego como temos visto.
muitas pas lhe fforão com alguũs serviços como se custuma fazer aos governadores quando vem novamte, não quis tomar nada a xpão nem a mouro, nẽ menos ha esta cidade, o que avemos qua todos por estranho, por estar em custume, tomarse tudo.
doixou por capitão nesta cidade a dom Anrique de meneses por não pasar dom ffernãdo que se diz vir por capitão, não podemos dizer dele se não o que se deve dizer de hũ bom ffidallgo, e ssomos dele tratados como he rrezaão e justiça e o vosa Alteza manda e emcomẽda.

Em todas as cartas quo temos espritas a vosa alteza lho temos dado comta desta cidade e de seu nobre cimento e dos moradores portugeses que nela vivem, com suas molherros e ffos, e ora nesta nos parece rezão que o ffaçamos o nos pareco que os purtugeses que ao prsente aqui são casados e estão d'asemto serão quatro cemtos e cimqoẽta e não se pode em certo dizer os que são por handarem espalhados por muitos partes, e destes que sabemos são mtos ffidalgos, e cavaleiros e escudeiros vossos cryados o outras pessoas de mto merecimento, que mto serviço tem ffẽto a vosa alteza, asy nestas partes como em outras de vosos reinos, os quaes tem ffos e ffas pera casar e ja deles casados nesta cidade, e pois asy esta per Ds hordenado que ajamos de deixar nosas naturezas por povoar esta trã, pidimos a vosa alteza quo se lẽbre de nossos serviços e os que se espera que ffação nossos ffos.

E quamto e alguũas obras que saão ffẽtas nesta cidade

principalm^{te} he o moest^{ro} de são ffr^{co} que podemos dizer ser acabado, e se diz que he das melhores casas que pode aver em vossos rreinos asy de bõos rreligiossos como das outras obras, e p'llo comseguinte huũ esp̃tal que ffez ffr^{co} p^{ra} junto da porta de santa c^{a} desta çidade, que ainda não sabemos out^{ro} melhor tirãdo ho de lixboa, o que e gramde rreffrigerio pera os ẽffermos com a boa provisão que tem, e bem ffoy necesario estar ffẽto, pelos muitos doentes que vierão nesta harmada do comde.

E asy se ffez huũ quais de pedra no maar da porta da rib^{ra} que isso mesmo mãdou ffazer ffr^{co} p^{ra}, o que he gramde nobrecim^{to} desta cidade, por ser m^{to} boa obra homde se chegão gales e ffustas e out^{ros} navios pequenos a descaregar e a tomar o que lhe he necesario, outras obras algũas não são ffẽtas mais das que herão, e os que mais ffez ffr^{co} p̃^{a} o t'po que aqui esteve por capitão la as sabera vosa alteza.

Nos ffezemos lembrança ao comde sobre o coregim^{to} dos muros desta cidade, ffolgou m^{to} com isso, e o vyo, e mãdou a dom Amrique nosso capitão que ffizese p'llo começar de chapar, pidymos a vosa alteza que todavia mãde que se ponha maão nele e se coreja do necesario, porque não he vosso s^{er}viço estar asy.

E quanto he as obras das casas que tem ffẽtas os moradores saom boaãs, e ffazem cada dia, e dentro da cerqua da cidade não ha chaão despouoado nem cabe a jemte que he casada, e vivem muitos ffora nos arrabaldes por não poderem hy all ffazer por serem muyto pobres.

A trã ffyrme que ganhou Rui de melo que nesta çidade esteve por capitaão, ffoy emtrada dos mouros que a soyam de pesuir, em o mes d'abryl de v^{c}xxiiij e a tem por sua, e a prim^{a} tanadaria[1] que tomarão ffoy a de perna que he da banda do maar hõde catyvaram

[1] District of a Tanadar, near Goa.

dous portugeses, e huũ deles tanadar, os quaes estão cativos na fforteleza de bylgão de que he capitão o çuffilarȳ, a culpa de se perder a trã, não julgamos, aquẽ se deve daar, porẽ dom duarte G^or^ que ffoy nestas partes estava na bara desta cidade cõ armada prestes pera ir caminho d'ormuz, e lhe ffoy dcto que acudise que cõ pouqua jente deitaria os mouros ffora da trã, respomdeo que o não podia ffazer por que estava de caminho e que aimda q̃ se perdere Goaa, que não deixaria de ir a ormuz, ho que era pouquo necesario por o que cõpria a vosso s̄rviço, seu irmão dom luis de meneses tambẽ neste t̄po era nesta cidade, e se ffoy emvernar a cochȳ, e levou toda a jente que pode e por ser na emtrada do imberno creceram os mouros e se emposaram da trã, e todavia ffr^co^ P^ra^ (Pereira) passou alem do ryo cõ esa jemte que tynha na cidade que era bem pouqua, e cõ tudo não pode hy ffazer mais que largalla.

os cavalos que vieram este Año darmuz a esta cidade fforam mil iij^c^ʀiij (343) cavalos affora trimta e seis que moreram, e porque mais não vieram, ffoy a causa disso ho levamtamẽto que ffoy em Armuz este año nos parece que vinram mais, p'llo trato darmuz ffiquar asẽtado cõ os merquadores.

tamto que o cõde chegou a esta çidade Amtre out^ras^ cousas que lhe rrequerimos, por parte da cidade e povo dela lhe ffezemos huũs apõtam^tos^ que em camara, per acordo de todo o povoo fforão ffẽtos em os quuaes nos agravamos a elle, dallguũas sem rrezoees e agravos, que por ffr^co^ p^ra^ nosso capitão que ffoy fforam ffẽtos a m^tos^ moradores desta çidade, e não tamto p'llo de suas pessoas que cada huũ per sy, se podia agravar, mas p̱llo que toqua aos p̱vilegios e liberdades que per

el rey vosso padre que santa gloria ajaa nos
fforam dados, e ora per vosa Alteza novamte cõffyrmados, que em muita parte ffoy cõtra elles
asy como emprẽder muitos cidadaos no trõqo em
fferros sem por que, nẽ querelas nẽ estudo que
deles tevese, em que nos ffoy cõtra os ditos
pvilegios, e p'llo comseguĩte em mãdar tomar
A alguũs moradores suas casas da morada pera
apousẽtar outras pessouas, lamçando fforaa
delas suas molheres e ffos, no que ffoy contra
os detos pvilegios, e isso mesmo em mãdar hatravesar todos os mantymtos nos passos que pa
esta cidade vynham pera caregar suas naaos
e tornar a rrevender nesta cidade. e em daar
os officios a homẽs ssolteyros daquelles
de que nos vosa alteza tem ffẽto merçe, como
ffoy o paso de manoel de sampaio q̃ vagou
outrosy ffoy cõtra os dĩto pvilegios, em mãdar
meter no tronquo aos juizes hordenairos q̃
saim per imlição cõ suas varas, o ao ppdor da
cidade, por rrequerer o que cõpria a seu hofficio
o mãdar meter no trõquo em fferros e tomar
as varas alguũs almotaceis e as quebrar
em pedaços, e as peñnas dalmotacaria q̃
p'llos almotaçeis eram julgadas pa a camara não querer que se levasẽ, em que a çidade
reçebeo perda, e outras cousas que nos dĩtos
apomtamtos se cõtinham, os quuaaes ffezemos
pa que o cõde os visse e nisso ffezese o que sẽtyse
por mais vosso s̃viço os quuaes ele vio e por
estar de caminho pa cochỹ naom pode mais niso
emtemder, e se rremeteo todo a dom Amriq̃ noso
capitão, e sobre os detos apõtamtos se procesava
ffẽto que asegumdo seu ffumdamto se hordenavão
gramdes gastos ao povo desta cidade, sobre o q' ffe-

zemos camara e per pregão ffoy chamado todo
ho povo, e per todos ffoy acordado, q' os dĩtos apõ-
tamentos não fforão dados ao cõde p^{a} se ffazcrẽ
demandas nẽ os homes gastarẽ suas ffaz^{das} com
ffr^{co} p^{ra}, ssom^{te} ꝑ^{a} que ele pelo poder que traz de
vosa alteza provese nisso, como ffose vosso
s̄viço e que isso mesmo o escrevesemos a vossa
Alteza açerqua dos ꝺctos Apomtam^{tos} p'llo que toqava
aos ꝑvillegios desta çidade, por nos sȳtirmos ha-
gravados, em nos hyrem cõtra eles no que ꝺcto he
nam tam ssom^{te} em espeçial, mas geralm^{te} como he
notorio, e por vermos que a detriminaçaõ destas cou-
sas se perlomgava e ffr^{co} p^{ra} ter posto ssospeiçaão
a todos os moradores desta cidade, asy a officiaaes
da justiça como a outras p^{as} e a tal ssospeição lhe
ser rrecebida, çesamos de mais falar nos dĩtos
apomtam^{tos} com o pareçer do povo, e o noteffiqamos
a vosa alteza, a que pidymos, quanto a ir o dĩto
ffr^{co} ꝑ^{ra} comtra nossos ꝑvilegios que imteiram^{te}
nos guarde nosa justiça e mande saber a verdade
por p^{as} sem ssosp^{ta} que não pode ser que Antre quinhẽtos
moradores que ha nesta cidade não ajaa vȳte
em que não ajaa ssospeição, e que não queiraão
mal a ffr^{co} ꝑ^{ra}, por que esperamos provar imteiram^{te}
ele nos ir cont^{a} os ꝺctos ꝑvilegios no que dĩto he
e da por escusa que lhes não noteffiquamos
quamdo lhe foy ẽtrege a fforteleza desta cidade per
Rui de mello, ẽtam lhe fforam lidos e noteffiquados
p^{er} os offiçiaaes da camara, e jurou aos sãtos
avamgelhos de os cõprir, e asynou o juram^{to} ao
pee no livro da camara como se veraa.
Vosa alteza tem ffẽto merce aos moradores desta
cidade que os officios dela asy de vosa ffazenda como
da justiça hamdem neles de tres Años, e naquelas
p^{as} em que couberem como mais largam^{te} se cõtem

na carta da merce dos d'ctos officios, e por que vemos
que destes que hão de ser em tres años os tẽ depois
de nosa carta alguũas p^as em sua vida, ssomos
nisso agravados, asy como he crysua q' tem qat^ro
officios e p^o g^do tres, e em outros cada hũ seu que nã
nomeamos pidymos a vosa alteza que officio algũ
nam proveja nesta cidade em vida ssom^te de tres
em tres años por que nã ffiquam de ffora se não
sete ou oyte officios, e destes tomamos o que nos
qua daão, Atee o ꝑsente. E asy pidymos a vosaa
alteza que aja por bem q̃ destes officios que ouverẽ
de ser providos pelo G^dor ou pelo capitão da fforteleza
q̃ a ꝑsemtaçam dos homees ꝑ^a eles seja da camara
por que todos ajam parte da merçe que lhe per
vosa alteza he ffẽta porque m^tas vezes acõtece hos
carreguos se darẽ mais per aderẽcia que per merrecym^to.

e quamto alguũs officios que devẽ s^er providos
em vida ja sobre isso escrevemos a vosa alteza, por
nos parecer ser s̄viço de d's e vosso, como ssaão os
tabalyaaes das notas, e do Judiciaal e da camara
por que são careguos que não he bem que hamden
por tres años, se não em vida das p^as que fforem
p^a os servirẽ, e os tabaliaaes das notas que
vosa alteza mãda, que se dem em vida, asy se ffara.
pelas armadas que de qua fforão em t̄po de dom duarte
temos escrito a vosa alteza largam^te m^tas cousas desta
cidade, e asy da Imdia, e nos parece escusado nesta mais
exꝑ^rever por que os cousas ffẽtas não se podem escõder
praza ao s̄or D s̄, que os d's e estado Re[al de] vosa alteza
acrecente a seu s̄viço, exꝑ^ita na cam[a]ra da d'cta
cidade de goaa ao deradeiro dia d'out^ro luis alurz a ffez
era de ĩ v^cxxiiij años.

cristovã a^o (affonso) di^o y^o, [Solyz?] Pay^o Royz, p^o gonlz.

Falla que fez Diogo do Couto na Camara de Goa ao Conde Dom Francisco da Gama quando nella poserão o Retrato de seu Vizavo D. Vasco da Gama. (Evora Library, Cod. $\frac{cxv}{2-8}$, N°. 1, p. 268.)

A cousa de que se mais prezavão aquellas famosas Republicas, Grega e Romana, Illmo S'ñr, era de satisfazerem grandes merecimentos com grandes, e publicos gallardoens dando a seus famosos, titulos e nomes soberbissimos, e alevantando lhes estatuas não só em os Senados, mas ainda em os lugares mais publicos de todos pera com isso incitarem aos mais, a fazerem cousas dignas de semelhantes galardoens.

Assim esta Republica de Goa, não menos ordenada que todas as do mundo, querendo-as imitar em cousa tão justa tratou de remunerar e em parte satisfazer, os muitos, e muito notaveis merecimentos deste valeroso capitão, e novo descubridor o S'ñr D. Vasco da Gama primeiro Conde Almirante, Visavo de V. Sa, pondo os olhos nos grandes e muito proveitosos serviços, que fez á coroa de Portugal, e no muito que todo este estado lhe deve, por ser a primeira pedra fundamental delle. Rompendo por tantos riscos e perigos, por tão varios, e apartados climas, descobrindo novos ceos, notando novas estrellas, provando dũ e d' outro pollo a aspereza, vencendo e sobjugando os feros e indomitos phocas e monstros marinhos, abrindo por meio delles novo caminho para que todos podessemos vir buscar as riqnezas deste oriente com que não só o nosso reino de Portugal, mas ainda todos os da Europa tanto se engrandecerão. Se este negocio sucedera em tempo d' aqnelles antigos Poetas, com muita mais razão poderão colocar entre os signos e Planetas aquella fermosa Náo S. Gabriel em q̃ este valeroso Capitão descubrio ao mundo tão maravillosos

segredos, do que o fizerão áquella argos de Jassão de quem tantos cousas fabullarão. Se aquelle Americo Vespusio q̃ descobrio essas Indias occidentales, que os Geographos poserão pella quarta parte do mundo, ficou nelle tão famoso q̃ toda aquella terra se chamou delle America, conservando em si o nome de seu descubridor: com quanta mais razão, esta parte da Asia q' este nosso insigne capitão nos descubrio se podera chamar A Gama por conservar com tão ilustre apelido a memoria de mor feito que houve depois que Dš creou o mundo ate [agora. Mas] foi tal o esquecimento neste estado que nem em nome nem em estatua havia delle memoria, o q̃ não he em Portugal aonde se conserva na amplissima geraçao que delle procede e na Illma casa de Vidigueira de q̃ V. Sa he dignissimo erdeiro, a qual tem brotado desy varoens tão insignes q̃ muito bem podera este estado da India ter sempre andado nas suas maos muito seguramente.

E querendo estes Pes conscriptos remedear este descuido, vendo q̃ entre estes insignes Varoens, lhe era a elle com rezão, devido o primeiro lugar (determinaram) de lho dar nõ só neste Senado, mas ainda levantaremlhe estatua sobre a principal porta desta cide para os q̃ por ella entrarem, em pondo os olhos nelle, se lembrem do mto q̃ todos lhe devemos. E ainda q̃ este ato se não celebre com a solenide devida a tão valeroso capitão, todavia he com tanto gosto, e aplauso de todos estes cidadaõs que não ha nenhũ q̃ não deseje de ser elle.

Por estes serviços e por todos os mais q̃ todos os q̃ somos vaçalos de sua Magde pretendẽ de fazer, assi a elle, como a V. S. lhe pede ponha os olhos no grande amor e alvoroço com q̃ todos festejão este ato pa q̃ assim lembrandolhe as obrigaçoens emq̃ por isso fica aesta cide a queira honrrar e favoreçer com lhe guardar seus foros previlegios e liberdades; e com isso remunerar e satisfazer os serviços e merecimtos dos cavallros cidadaõs que morrerão em serviço do seu Rey:

com lhe despachar e remedear suas filhas pobres e orfaãs pª q̃ assim entendamos todos, q̃ não foi este nosso serviço feito em vão, e primitria o ser meo da obra tão Santa dar a V. Sª tantos et tão eroicas vitorias, que por ellas mereça ser colocado á ilharga do Dignissimo Visavô, e que me aja eu por mᵗᵒ ditoso ter me cabido a sorte de escrever a historia da India como S. Magᵈᵉ me manda, para que pollas grandezas q̃ de V. Sª espero escrever venha a ser tão conheçido no mundo como foi Homero por escrever as de Achilles.

LETTER OF DUARTE BARBOSA TO THE KING ABOUT THE RISING UP OF THE PEOPLE OF CANANOR THROUGH THE EXCESSES OF DIOGO CORREA, AND HOW HE AND THE CAPTAIN MAJOR APPEASED THEM; DATED CANANOR, JAN. 12, 1513.
(TORRE DO TOMBO, PART I, MAÇO 12, DOC. 56.)

Senñor

Alem da obriguaçam em ꝗ jaço ao oficio de scrivam de que me vosa alteza fez merce minha comdiçam he falar senpre v^er^dade primcypalmente naquelas cousas que tocam a voso s^r^viço e pareçe me ꝗ me nam faria Ds̄ merce se nam escrevese craramemte as cousas de cananor a vosa alteza p^r^que estas sam as que eu sey lympamente, asy p̃la lymguoa como p^r^ sabr̃ de muyto tempo ꝗ qua estybe da outra vez. os tratos e costumes e comdiçoes asemtadas ꝑlo almy'ramte e comfirmadas p̃los outros capitaes mores q̃ atee guora foram, o que avemos de g^r^dar ao Rey e a jemte da tr̃a q̃ segumdo vosos Regm^tos^ e mamdados he g^r^dar lhe muyta v^er^dade e ter com ele v^er^dadeyra paaz, as quaes cousas em algua maneyra sam quebradas como vosa alteza la vera p̃los ēbayxadores e cartas del Rey de cananor.

Eu cheguey aquy ho anno de 1511 com dom ayres e ho capytam moor era em malaca e dexara nesta fortaleza di^o^ correa ꝑ capitam ho qual com suas tyranyas e desconfiamças e Rispeda comdiçam tynha a jemte da tr̃a casi alevantada comtre sy, despeytando os e ameçamdo os com o capitam moor queremdo tomar bamdo ꝑ huũ pocar açem comtre outra valya e comtre o guov^er^nador, lembro a vosa alteza q̃ se ꝑdio o trato de calecud ꝑ ayres correa querer bamdejar ꝑ coja beguy, he bem q̃ sejam favoreçidos os que s^er^vem vosa alteza e nam de maneyra q̃ lhes façam fazer o q̃ nam devem comtre o Rey da

trr̃a pois sam seus vasalos e ele ho he de vosa alteza esta he a cousa q̃ ele mais semte. nam diguo de di° correa muytas cousas p̃lo meudo que sam dinas de grã castyguo p que jaz ja omde noso Senhor se lenbre de sua alma.

Estava aquy g° *(Gonzalo)* memdez feytor e pedro mem *(Pedro Homem)* e p hũas palavras de gramde esperamça de vosa alteza queriam cons^er^var e soster a paz desta jemte, tolhyalhes que nam fosem a cananor nem amdar amtre os mouros semdo feytor e escrivaão e sobre isto os mexricou com ho capitam moor que creo sempre em suas maldades e as ouve p v^ir^tudes segundo o maão trato que deu ao Rey da trr̃a e ao guov^er^nador e jemte dela p̃los quaes cousas vosa alteza deve pguntar a J° sarraão que sabe algũa cousa diso p que avelas descrever meudamemte nam se poderiam acabar.

E se o Rey da trr̃a esteve pa quebrar de todo com ho capitam moor sobre a tyrada do seu guov^er^nador e asy sobre hũa soma de cavalos que lhe tomou forçosamemte sem lhos paguar e fez obriguar ao alguazil que paguase alguũs deles a seus donos e senam q̃ o prenderia em ferros. eu ho sey muy bem p que estive la huũ dia todo com el Rey dezemdo lhe de parte de vosa alteza que se se semtia agravado q' ho fezese sabr̄ a vosa alteza e q' tudo se Remediaria com m^ta^ paãz e muyto amor a ele me dezya que queriá acabar de perder sua trr̃a pois lhe faziam tamtas forças que as nam podia sofrir e que nam queriá nada de nos nem portos nem naveguaçam nem dar nem tomar com nosco e q' queriá viver no sartam e com os fruitos da trr̃a se manter pois lhe roubavamos a trr̃a e lhe faziamos tamtas forças. profyey tamto com ele com palavras mansas que p derradeyra me dise avemdo sobre iso m^to^ conselho que queria sofrir tudo ate ho fazer sabr̄ a vosa alteza e a isto senhor mamda laa com alguũs s^er^viços de joyas eses omes com cartas e Recados na maão de J° sarrão.

Este anno ouvemos p^a^ esta feytoria p^a^ carregua destas naãos quatro mil q^s^(quintaes) de jengibre casi todo fyado que

nos o Rey mamdou dar e fomolo paguamdo pouco e pouco e se tiveramos mercaderias p^a^ o paguarmos pareçeme q' ouveramos seis ou sete mil q^s^ e por que nam temos nenhua mercadería nem com q' ho paguar estamos no preço de cem fs̄ *(farazolas)* ho bahar a q' o anno pasado ho fezemos deçer pq' estava a cemto vinte fs̄ ho bahar e aguora nos acometem q' nos obriguemos a lhe tomar ate seis mil q^s^ e q' lhe paguemos em mercaderias e loguo algua cousa, se as teveramos, pareceme q' ho fezeramos abayxar a oytemta fs̄ o bahar. p^or^q' Jorge de melo com suas boas palavras e comdy'çam os tem muyto mãsos e tyrados de muytas malyçias em que jaziam p' q' despois q' aquy fy'cou vieram a esta fortaleza muytos mouros jentyos honrrados q' avia dous annos q' aquy nam ẽtraram nem tratavam com nosco, este fruyto dam as arvores q' vosa alteza poem p^or^ sua maão.

Mamde vosa alteza acudir a esta feytoria com muy'tas mercaderias e p especial mandado mamde q' as descarreguem aquy p^or^ q' pasam todas a cochy e nã nos dexam aquy nada nem querem aquy estar tres dias aymda q' venham muyto çedo nam lhes lenbra se nam quĩtaladas e este anno pderam quatro ou çimco naãos de meca que vieram a calecud p^or^ nã quererem aquy ag^r^dar e avisamolos disso p^or^q' sabiamos çerto q' vinham. ho anno pasado pasaram a meca e adem doze ou treze naãos carreguadas despeçiaria e este anno se fazem presĩs outras tamtas. Remedee Ds̄ isto pois o vosa alteza nam qr̄ Remediar p^or^q' milhor seria tolher esta pasaje a esta especiaria q' estar sobre guoa gastãdo quamto vosas feytorias tem com jemte darmas da tr̄a e com sete ou oyto çemtos omes e quatro ou çimco naaos e outras tamtas caravelas e guales pagamdo mais casamemtos a omẽs q' se loguo nam tornar mouros do q' val o q' guoa ateguora Rendeo, nem numca Rendera. ahy poem o capitã moor todo seu fundamẽto esqueçemdose das vosas feytorias antiguoas ẽ q' ha toda a carregua p as naãos pa cujo fundamemto vossa alteza mãdou descobrir a ymdia e asy tambem gasta ẽ

soldos e mantymemtos a os canaris da trr̃a tamto q' falece qua nas feytorias e os purtugueses andam qua sem averem paguamento de seus soldos m^to^ tp̄o esta quy coja beguy q' nos come cada dia huũ + 3^do^ *(cruzado)* q' tem de mantymemto sem nenhuũ fruto.

mamda la a vosa alteza huũ embayxador q' diz q' he do preste johan mamdouo de guoa ꝑ estas fortalezas q' lhe desem gramdes dadivas e lhe fezesem grandes Reçibimentos como lhe foram f^tos^ dezemdo q' traz o lenho da samta e v^er^dadeyra cruz. traz comsiguo hũa molher da trr̃a do preste Johan e huũ moço fez emtender q' a molher era sua propia molher e f^a^ de huũ gram senhor e q' o moço era m^to^ paremte do Rey e q' era o primçypal ẽbayxador e a molher descobrio aquy q' este era monro e q' vinha do cayro p^r^ espía e q' conprara aquelo moço e q' a ela q' a furtara q' nam era sua molher ꝑq' os abaxis sam todos pretos e ferrados nas testas e q' este he omem alvo e q' nam sabe a lynguoa da trr̃a do preste. Reqnerio ao capitã Jorge de melo p^er^amte todos os oficiaes desta fortaleza q' a tyrase dele ꝑ quamto ere mouro e q' olhase ꝑ̃los ẽguanos com q' vinha, o capitam o mãda asy como vinha a vosa alteza com a crareza do q' qua soube e asy gaspar pereyra o escreve a vosa alteza.

Eu trouxe huũ alv^a^ de vosa alteza p^a^ p^r^m^a^ escrevaninha que vaguase ẽ cananor fuy provido da de J^o^ davila ꝑ sua morte e duarte frez̄ veyo este anno com huũ alv^a^ ꝑ a escrevaninha de J^o^ davila com os seguros das naãos da trr̃a e pedro mem ꝑ feytor segumdo a temçam de vosa alteza eu ficava escrivaão primeyro como era pedro mẽ pois duarte frez̄ traz nomeada escrevaninha de J^o^ davila e o capitam moor ho ẽtendeo como quis e proveyo duarte frez̄ da escrevaninha p^r^meyra com os seguros q' tem setẽta mil r̃s e mais parte nos dr^tos^ do jẽgivre e droguerias q' eu trabalho milhor q' nenhuũ ofeçial ꝑ̃^la^ ly^n^guoa e fico aguora com cĩcoemta mill r̃s secos, ꝑ̃lo qual bejarey as maãos de vosa alteza mamdarme prover com justyça e q' guoze o tp̄o q' tenho s^er^vido e s^er^vir

d' escrivaão primeyro pois duarte frz̄ traz nomeada a de J° davila em seu alv^a e nisto me fora m^{ta} merçe fēā em cananor a a xii de Janeyro de 1513.

D^{te} barbosa.

LETTER OF DOM MANUEL TO ALFONSO D'ALBUQUERQUE,
DATED MARCH 2, 1514.
TORRE DO TOMBO, PART I, MAÇO 14, DOC. 77.

Affons̃ dalboq̃rq^e amigo Nos el Rey vos emviamos m^to saudar como p^r outra carta vos scpveemos p^r a booa em formaça que nos destes de Joham serrão e p^r o avermos p^r pessoa q̃ nos savera beem s^er vir nas cousas que lhe forem emcarregadas ouvemos p^r beem vollo emviar llaa p^a nos s^er vir naquelles cousas que lhe cometerdes e emcarregardes e esperamos q̃ em tudo ho em q̃ ho pos'des dara de sy toda booa q̃ta e p^r q' saibaeeis nossa tenção acerq^a do q̃ mos follgariamos q̃ elle fezese nos p'reçeo beem vollo scpv'r q̃ he o emviardes entrar o mar Roixo e chegar atee ssoez e ver muy bem todo o q' ha no dito mar da hua p^te e da out^a asy de cidades villas e llugares como de toda out^a cousa e de p^or tos e amcoraçoeẽs e ilhas e do trauto q' nelle ha e asy navios que nelle navegam e a que p^or tos podriã viir a geente do abexy e quãto ha do llugar ou llugares omde vem as suas cafillas a sua terra e como pasam as dytas cafillas e com que segurãça e que geemtes sam as p omde pasam ate chegarẽ a terra do abexy e se sã Rex q' nã Reconheçã s^ryo e se sam mouros se gemtios e em que t'po vaão e tornã as ditas cafillas e o q' trazẽ e llevam e particullarmẽte das cousas do abexy.

Item o sytyo da tr̃ra de ssoiz quejamdo he e se ha hy allgũ tall em que se possa fazer forteleza e se tem agoa, e finallmemte queymar e destroyr todo que em soez açhase pncipallmẽte de navios e cousas da armada e quãto ha de soez ao cairo e q' caminho he se de

deserto se povorado ysto p̱ emformaçã q' diso podera aveer.

E ysto tudo muy bem visto e asy bem sabydo q̃ nam possa aveer cousa de que nã ssaibamos p̱te

Item o p[to] de Juda bem visto e q'mto d'hy no certo a meca e o camynho que se faz se he povorado se despovorado e se ha agoas nelle.

Item em meca se ha geemte de garnyçã e q̃jamda e q'nta e os moradores q'mtos sã e q' geemte he.

Item asy mesmo que vise muy beem todo o mar da p̱sya atee baharem na maneira que dito he q̃ o faça no mar Roixo esprevemdo todas as cousas que nelle se achã e ssouber q' ha e que estas cousas faça ē ambos estes mares com os navios com q' elles se posam bem navegar e que sejam ligeiros p̱a yso asy como gallees e navios de Remo outros que sã p̱a a navegaçã dos ditos mares proveytosos os quaees se podem bem fazer e prestesmẽte p'los oficiaeēs q' agora vaão q' leva a seu cargo ate llaa chegarem o dito joham serraão p̱ noso mãdado p̱ irem cõ elle melhor agasalhados e estes navios que asy llevar devẽ d ir bem armados dartelh[ria] e armas e com gẽte de proveyto.

Item follgariamos q' levase comsigo quē lhe beem pymtase todo o mar Roixo asy como jaz e as cousas q' nelle ha de maneira que nã ficase cousa allgũa delle que nos nã viese pimtado.

Item q'riamos q' somdase alltura do dito mar quãto bem se podese fazer e em espeçiall omde ouvese baixos e nos canaes p̱ omde p̱ baixos se navega.

Item q' visse e ouvese V[er]dad[ra] emformaçã da llargura do dito mar e no mais estreito delle quãto he de trr̃a a trr̃a e p̱ q'll das bandas he a canall mais allta e d anbas as p̱tes a alltura do mar.

Item se sam povoradas as Ilhas q' ha nelle e de que gemte e se sã gemte Rica se prove e se tem agoas e disposysã pª fazer ffortellezas.

E asy sayba as llegoas q' ha do estreito atee ssoez e do toro atee ssoez e do toro atee samta Cᵃᵃ e posto que creemos que destas cousas vos tenhaees sabidas muytas follgaremos que todavia sem embarguo disso elle saiba destas o que lhe for posyvell saber e os navios q' com elle emviareis sᵉʳam os que virdes q' vos bem pᵃʳreçer e q̃ comprẽ ꝑa tall viagem.

E que de todas estas cousas e quaees q'r outᵃˢ q' vos bem pareçerem leve vosso Regimento ꝑa que de todas nos posaees çedo emviar Recado scpta em allmerim a dous d's do mes de março Antº ffrz a fez de 1514.

Rey - ⁝ -

outᵃ tall ꝑ aº da.... [boq̃q̃, *torn off.*]

Docket.

Por el Rey
lyda
A aº daboq̃q̃ do seu conselho seu capitam moor das ꝑᵗᵉˢ da India.
outᵃ tal.

Specimen from the Portuguese Bibles of the Lisbon, London, and Colombo Editions, exemplifying the language now spoken by the descendants of the Portuguese in Ceylon.

Bible of Padre Antonio Pereira de Figueiredo. Lisbon, 1791.

1. He de saber que a serpente era o mais astuto de todos os animaes da terra, que Deos tinha feito: e ella disse á mulher: Porque vos prohibio Deos que não commesseis do fruto de todas as arvores do paraiso?

2. Respondeo-lhe a mulher: Nós comemos dos frutos das arvores, que ha no paraiso.

3. Mas do fruto da arvore, que está no meio do paraiso, Deos nos prohibio que não comessemos, nem a tocassemos, sob pena de morrermos.

4. Mas a serpente disse á mulher: Bem podeis estar seguros que não haveis de morrer:

5. Porque Deos sabe que tanto que vós comerdes desse fruto, se abriráõ vossos olhos; e vós sereis como huns deoses pelo conhecimento, que tereis do bem, e do mal.

6. A mulher pois vendo que o fruto daquella arvore era bom para se comer, e era fermoso, e agradavel á vista, tomou delle e comeo, e deo á seu marido, que comeo do mesmo fruto como ella.

7. No mesmo ponto se lhes abrirão os olhos e ambos conhecêrão que estevão nús; e tendo cozido humas com outras humas folhas de figueira, fizerão dellas humas cintas.

BIBLE OF JOÃO FERREIRA D'ALMEIDA, MINISTRO DO S° EVANGELHO EM BATAVIA. LONDON, 1819.

1. Ora a serpente era mais astuta que todos os animaes do campo que Jehova Deus tinha feito: e esta disse á mulher: He tambem assi que Deus disse: não comereis de toda arvore desta horta?

2. E a mulher disse á serpente: Do fruito de toda arvore desta horta comeremos.

3. Mas do fruito da arvore, que está no meyo da horta, disse Deus: não comereis delle, nem tocareis nelle, paraque não morrais.

4. Então a serpente disse á mulher: de morte não morrereis.

5. Porque Deus sabe, que no dia em que comerdes delle, se abriráõ vossos olhos, e sereis, como Deus, sabendo o bem e o mal.

6. E vio a mulher que aquella arvore era boa para comer, e hum prazer á os olhos, e arvore desejavel para dar entendimento; poloque tomou de seu fruito, e comeo; e deu tambem a seu marido, e comeo com ella.

7. E assi forão abertos os olhos delles ambos, e conheceráõ que estavão nuos, e coserão folhas de figueira, e fizerão para si avantaes.

Bible of Colombo, 1833.

1. Agora o serpente tinha mais sutil doqui todo o animals de o campo qui o Senhor Deos ja forma. E elle ja falla per o mulher, Sim, ja Deos falla qui vossotros nemiste cume de cada hum albre de o horta?

2. E o mulher ja falla per o serpente, Nos pode cume de o fruito de o albres de o horta:

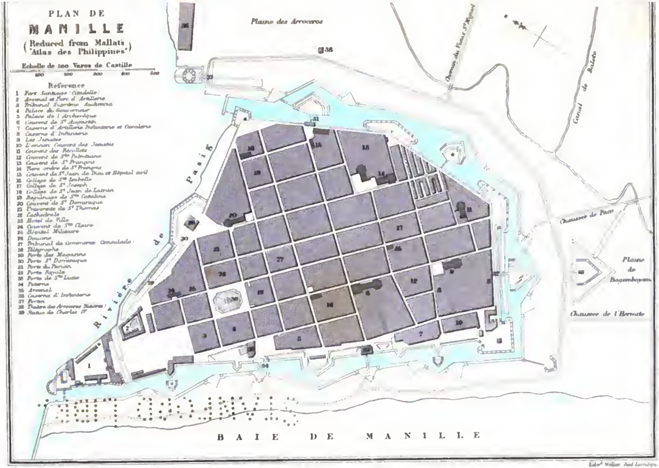
3. Mas de o fruito de o albre qui tem ne meo do o horta Deos ja falla, vossotros nemiste cume de aquel, nem toca aquel somente qui vossotros nada murre.

4. E o serpente ja falla per o mulher, Per verdade vossotros nada murre.

5. Videqui Deos te sabe qui ne o dia ne qui vossotros te cume de aquel, vossos olhos lo ser aberto, e vossotros lo ser como deoses, sabendo bom e mal.

6. E quando o mulher ja olha qui o albre tinha bom per comera, e qui aquel tinha fremoso per o vistas e hum albre qui tem disejado per faze cizo, elle ja toma de o fruito de aquel, e ja cume e ja da tambem per sua marido; e elle ja cume.

7. E o olhos de amos dous de ellotros ja fica aberto, e ellotros ja sabe qui ellotros tinha nó: e ellotros ja cuze per huma o folhas de o figueira, e ja pindura aquels diante elles mesmo.



PLAN DE
MANILLE
(Reduced from Mallat's 'Atlas des Philippines')
Echelle de 500 Varas de Castille
100 200 300 400 500
Reference
1 Fort Santiago (Citadelle)
2 Arsenal et Parc d'Artillerie
3 Tribunal Suprême Audiencia
4 Palais du Gouverneur
5 Palais de l'Archevêque
6 Couvent de St Augustin
7 Caserne d'Artillerie Infanterie et Cavalerie
8 Caserne d'Infanterie
9 Les Jésuites
10 L'ancien Couvent des Jésuites
11 Couvent des Récollets
12 Couvent de Ste Potenciana
13 Couvent de St François
14 Tiers ordre de St François
15 Couvent de St Jean de Dieu et Hôpital civil
16 Collège de Ste Isabelle
17 Collège de St Joseph
18 Collège de St Jean de Latran
19 Béguinage de Ste Catalina
20 Couvent de St Dominique
21 Université de St Thomas
22 Cathédrale
23 Hôtel de Ville
24 Couvent de Ste Claire
25 Hôpital Militaire
26 Douane
27 Tribunal de Commerce (Consulado)
28 Télégraphe
29 Porte des Magasins
30 Porte St Dominique
31 Porte du Parian
32 Porte Royale
33 Porte de Ste Lucie
34 Poterne
35 Arsenal
36 Caserne d'Infanterie
37 Foran
38 Théâtre des Arroceros (Ruines)
39 Statue de Charles IV
Rivière de Pasig
Plaine des Arroceros
Chemin du Fleuve St Miguel
Canal de Baleto
Chaussée de Paco
Plaine de Bagomboyan
Chaussée de l'Hermite
BAIE DE MANILLE
Edwd Weller Sculpt London

GENERAL INDEX.

WRITERS QUOTED.

NAMES OF PERSONS.

ERRATA.

P. xii, line 8, *for* Ferdinand, *read* Ferdinand Denis.
P. 52, *note*, line 17, *for* near to another, *read* near to one another.
P. 328, line 1, *for* ship Mount Dely, *read* ship at Mount Dely.
P. 375, *note*, *for* Duke of Goa, *read* Duke of Gor.
P. 414, *note*, *for* Castello braneo, *read* Castello branco.
P. xvi, Appendix, line 3, *for* nosa carta, *read* vosa carta.
P. xxiv, line 3, *for* cananor a a xii, *read* cananor a xii.